Distr.
General

UNCTAD/DSD/SEU/Misc.4
19 October 1993

ENGLISH ONLY

PALESTINIAN WOMEN AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA STRIP

Study prepared by UNCTAD consultant*

---

* This study constitutes Part One of the contribution made by Ms. Hind Kattan Salman (Bethlehem University, West Bank) to the intersectoral project of the UNCTAD secretariat on "Prospects for sustained development of the Palestinian economy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip". The study has also benefited from the substantive comments of the Division for the Advancement of Women, Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs, United Nations Office at Vienna. The opinions expressed in this study are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Secretariat of the United Nations. The designations employed and the presentation of the material in this document do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Secretariat of the United Nations concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area, or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

GE.93-54070 (E)

CONTENTS

	Paragraphs
Preface	
Introduction	1 - 2
Chapters	
I. **Evolution of the socio-economic status of Palestinian women: an overview of the pre-1967 period**	3 - 23
A. The pre-1948 situation	4 - 12
B. The situation from 1948 to 1967	13 - 23
II. **Palestinian women and the process of economic and social transformation in the occupied Palestinian territory: with special reference to the period 1967-1987**	24 - 88
A. The general context	24 - 40
1. Overall conditions under occupation	24 - 29
2. General policy and legislative conditions	29 - 33
3. Major demographic features	34 - 37
4. Social status and attitudes	38 - 40
B. Areas of involvement	41 - 64
1. Features of women's involvement in the national struggle and in development	42 - 47
2. Social activities involving women	48 - 59
(a) Health	48 - 51
(b) Education	52 - 55
(c) Welfare and charitable work	56 - 59
3. Participation in economic activities	60 - 64
C. Major areas of institutional change and progress	65 - 75
D. Obstacles to fuller participation	76 - 88
1. Health conditions and provision	76 - 79

CONTENTS (continued)

Chapters		Paragraphs
	2. Educational levels	80 - 82
	3. Economic aspects	83 - 85
	4. Other social services, child care in particular	86 - 88
III.	**Palestinian women and the uprising: changing perception and role**	89 - 152
	A. Nature and broad features of participation since the uprising	89 - 107
	1. General activities	89 - 94
	2. Decision-making	95 - 97
	3. Social status and living conditions	98 - 107
	B. Changing economic functions and the role of "home economics"	108 - 122
	C. Implications of emerging changes	123
	1. Women's rights and the agenda for the future	123 - 127
	2. Changing socio-economic functions	128 - 138
	3. Social behaviour	139 - 144
	4. Ideas and actions advanced by local women's groups	145 - 152
IV.	**Areas requiring immediate intervention and action**	153 - 170
Statistical Tables		
References		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBS	Israel Central Bureau of Statistics
GS	Gaza Strip
JD	Jordanian dinar
m^3	Cubic metres
NIS	New Israeli shekel
n.r.	Not relevant (in tables)
OPT	Occupied Palestinian territory
Thous.	thousand
WB	West Bank
$	United States dollars
..	Data not available (in tables)
-	Equals nil (in tables)

Preface

(i) In the light of the deteriorating economic and social situation in the occupied Palestinian territory (West Bank and Gaza Strip), and as part of the work programme of the UNCTAD secretariat pursuant to resolution 239 (XXIII) of the Trade and Development Board and resolution 174/44 of the General Assembly, the UNCTAD secretariat initiated, in 1990/91, the preparation of an in-depth intersectoral project on the economy of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Part one of the project deals with a comprehensive assessment of the economic and social situation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the main impediments to sustained growth and development, pressing needs and corresponding measures for immediate action to promote recovery. Part two of the project constitutes an in-depth analysis of prospects under different scenarios for the future development of the Palestinian economy. Part three of the project is intended to provide a strategy framework and policy guidelines for the revival and sustained future development of the Palestinian economy in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

(ii) For the implementation of the project, a total of 25 in-depth studies were initiated at the field level covering economic and social sectors and issues. Concurrently, and in order to facilitate the technical aspects of work on parts two and three, the UNCTAD secretariat has also prepared an in-depth study of a quantitative framework examining future options and prospects under several scenarios. The summary findings of part one of the field studies, in particular an identification of pressing needs and corresponding feasible measures for immediate action, were presented for further consideration at an expert group meeting (held in May 1992). The report of that meeting is being separately published (UNCTAD/DSD/SEU/2) as is the secretariat's study of a quantitative framework (UNCTAD/DSD/SEU/3).

(iii) In order to provide more detailed substantive background to the findings and recommendations of the expert group meeting, and to enable donors to further develop their programmes of assistance to the Palestinian people, the first parts of a selected number of the field studies commissioned within the scope of this project are being published in a special study series on Palestinian economic and social development. The second and third parts of the field studies will be subsequently consolidated by the UNCTAD secretariat. The present document constitutes part one of the study prepared (in 1992) by UNCTAD consultant Ms. Hind Kattan Salman (Bethlehem University, West Bank), on the role of Palestinian women in the process of economic and social development in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Introduction

1. Over the past decades Palestinian history and politics have been covered extensively by scholars on the Middle East; more recently, economic and social issues have become the subject of in-depth study and investigation. The role of Palestinian women, however, had not yet benefited from a systematic and comprehensive examination. This study examines the place of Palestinian women in the process of economic and social development in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In so doing it sets out to answer specific questions. Given the unique set of issues confronting Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, do Palestinian women have a special role to play in the economic and social life of their society? In the present context of Palestinian society, where and how do women contribute to the process of development? In what way have Palestinian women combined their growing and active political involvement with efforts geared to enhance their economic and social status? What are the problems encountered by Palestinian women in their efforts to participate actively in improving their economic and social situation? What immediate measures could enhance participation of Palestinian women in the economic and social life of their society? These and other issues related to the role of Palestinian women are addressed in this study within the context of developments that have marked Palestinian society, especially during the past 25 years since Israeli occupation.

2. Chapter I constitutes a brief overview of the pre-1967 period, examining separately developments in the situation of women in Palestine until 1948, and in the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 1948 and 1967. Chapter II examines the legal status of women within the context of general policy and legislative conditions, the main areas and features of women's social, economic and political activities, and major aspects of institutional change and prominent obstacles to fuller participation, during the first 25 years of Israeli occupation (1967-1987). Chapter III reviews the status of women since the Palestinian uprising (1987-1991), a period which has been marked by improvements in the scope and detail of information available on the emerging role of Palestinian women. This has made it possible to identify realistically the problems and constraints that hamper the efforts of Palestinian women to define and play their full role in economic and social areas. In chapter IV, some feasible areas are proposed whereby the opportunities for Palestinian women to assume a greater role in the process of economic and social development in the West Bank and Gaza Strip could be enhanced.

Chapter I

EVOLUTION OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF PALESTINIAN WOMEN: AN OVERVIEW OF THE PRE-1967 PERIOD

3. Virtually no data are available covering the historical role of Palestinian women in social and economic development. The political role of Palestinian women has been discussed but not their economic or social status. Therefore, a detailed examination of the pre-1967 situation of women with regard to important functions like economic activities, professional status, social welfare activities, educational advancement and social status is constrained by the paucity of information for the period in question. None the less, this chapter highlights the salient features of the pre-1948 situation and of developments up to 1967.

A. The pre-1948 situation

4. It is only relatively recently that Palestinian women have played an active role in the economic and social affairs of their society. Social conditions at the beginning of this century constrained their autonomous development. The basic issues confronting women and development were the responsibilities associated with extended family ties, the distinct patriarchal relationships of authority and descent, and the clan structures as found in an Arab society. Over the centuries, the status of women, especially in traditional societies, had changed little if at all. However, with political modernization, which brought economic and social change, the gradual emergence of the nuclear family, opportunities for formal education and a market economy, traditional practices and customs have of necessity begun to break down.

5. In Palestinian farming communities of the nineteenth century, for example, women were not only responsible for ploughing and planting the field, but also bore full responsibility for the children, kitchen, and laundry. The economic role of rural women gave them the experience of mixing with men and thus mitigated the impact of conservative social influences. Yet, as has been pointed out, (Jad, 1990), rural women's important economic role did not noticeably improve their social status, since the attitudes, values and traditions of Palestinian society at the turn of the century did not allow for rapid social change. In a largely patriarchal semi-feudal society, women generally were unable to exercise their full right of inheriting property, and their role became restricted largely to housework.

6. In the cities, on the other hand, women's status was more restricted, owing to the greater social restraints deemed proper in the open, "unprotected" urban environment. Girls were usually kept at home from the age of 16, in preparation for marriage, contributing to the partial segregation of men and women in the cities. Interaction with the Western colonial powers, which intensified during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the spread of governmental and Western missionary schools, gradually brought women in cities and small villages into direct contact with the outside world. The number of girls attending school in Palestine increased from 1,611 in 1914 to 15,303 in 1944 (see table 1.1). The majority of these girls attended elementary schools although a few also registered for classes in secondary

schools. This was owing in part to the lack of facilities, but the predominant reason was the unwillingness of parents to allow their teenage daughters to be overly exposed to the public domain. Although women in the cities were the main beneficiaries of education, women in rural areas also received some schooling. In the academic year 1944-1945, for example, girls attending school up to the first preparatory grade constituted 42 per cent of all pupils, and of these 8 per cent were in village schools. Some girls received secondary education and teacher training, (as indicated by table 1.2).

7. In view of the generally low standard of literacy prevailing among the female population, it was not possible for most women to take advantage of their rights. Although Palestinian women took their first steps towards institutionalizing women's activity in 1921, by establishing the Arab Women's Society in Jerusalem, these first initiatives were short-lived and the Society ceased to exist after only two years because of lack of funding and the inevitable social and political pressures which were exerted on women. Their consciousness thus raised, however, some women began to operate through the more socially accepted charitable organizations, providing aid to needy families, and extending childhood and maternity services. They saw social change in charitable forms. The development of schooling for girls in urban areas also played a role in building women's self-confidence. In this way, formal education began to have a direct effect on the role of Palestinian women, changing their perspectives and affecting their desire to seek employment.

8. However, in the pre-1948 period, the majority of urban workers and their families in Palestine lived below subsistence level, even though some women and children contributed to family income, working as domestic servants, street vendors and porters for wages which were appallingly low. A government survey of 1,000 workers in Jaffa carried out in November 1936 revealed that 935 earned less than 6 Palestinian pounds a month, despite the fact that the minimum cost of living in Jaffa at that time was 11.5 Palestinian pounds a month per household. A woman working as a domestic servant earned on average only 2 Palestinian pounds a month (Smith, 1984:55). Such low incentives reduced the number of women entering employment during this period.

9. When in 1917 the Ottoman rulers issued, for the first time in Islamic history, a code of personal status, they gave a woman the right to seek dissolution of her marriage on a number of grounds, such as certain diseases afflicting her husband, his failure to maintain her, his absence and his injury. However, the interpretation of personal status has fallen within the jurisdiction of the religious courts, whether shari'a (Islamic) or church courts, since the beginning of the century. This has kept the interpretation of personal status, and thus the issues of marriage, divorce, child custody and related matters affecting women within the domain of theological interpretation and religious legislation. In general, this has allowed less opportunity for women to exercise their free will than civil or secular personal codes. In 1922, the British Mandatory Government exercised wide legislative powers, and promulgated several laws modifying or replacing

various Ottoman laws. These paid little attention to the laws of personal status, particularly the legal principles that affected the position of women, principles which they left unchanged (see Rishmawi, 1988:81).

10. At the political level, members of the women's charitable organizations participated in some of the demonstrations in the cities on national occasions, such as those in February 1920 and March 1921. Women became increasingly visible as the conflict in Palestine intensified. In one clash (also known as the Burag incident) which took place in August 1929, nine women villagers were killed by British soldiers (Abdul Jawwad, 1990:63). This led to the creation of the Arab Ladies' Committees in 1929, with 200 women attending the first women's conference held in Jerusalem. The creation of these committees was considered a major development, since it represented the formal organization of women's political activities. Nevertheless, women were generally kept out of existing political organizations and parties owing to gender segregation and the social inacceptability of interaction between the sexes. This was reflected in the nature of women's participation in public demonstrations, in which they were typically surrounded by Boy Scouts, or put in the rear of the demonstrations behind the men for protection (Abdul Jawwad, 1990:64).

11. Women's conferences increased after 1933, and notably during the 1936-1939 revolt, but, in general, participation remained limited to upper-class women and students. Women in the countryside helped in transporting weapons and food; women donated their jewellery to buy arms. Women took little part in the actual fighting, nor, with minor exceptions, did they work as nurses (Jad, 1990:127).

12. Women's organizations represented an attempt on the part of educated females to participate in the affairs of the modern world rather than a feminist revolt against oppression or domination. Their activities centred on social services, since their focus was restricted to "feminine" concerns such as child welfare, literacy work, and skills training in such areas as sewing, spinning, weaving and embroidery. Prior to 1948, their centres were located in urban areas, the most active being Jaffa, Haifa, Nablus and Jerusalem (Haddad, 1980:160). With the dispersion of the Palestinian people after 1948, their activities were disrupted in some towns and temporarily suspended in others. Thus, the evolution of the charitable organization as a forum for female activity reflects the slow change in cultural norms.

B. The situation from 1948 to 1967

13. It was not until the 1948 war that political changes in the Middle East altered the condition of women in Palestinian society to a significant and noticeable degree. The establishment of the State of Israel created severe dislocations in Palestinian society which changed the structure of that society, as well as the material basis sustaining the traditional patriarchal family. A new context for social organization was created, the refugee camp, in which women played an important role, particularly as the emigration of males increased. Given this new reality, education became a high priority for both men and women. The losses suffered by Palestinians in 1948 strengthened their feeling that education was a sound investment, a valuable permanent

possession. Education became a way of liberating themselves from dependency, poverty, hunger and want. It was the means to a better income, to improved status, and to personal fulfilment.

14. The high priority accorded education in Palestinian society after 1948, both in the diaspora and in Palestine, was not reserved solely for males. The emphasis on education and training was also reflected in the female population as the number of educated girls increased substantially after 1948, especially among the middle and upper classes. Parents encouraged their daughters to go to school, as education was perceived to be a permanent and portable if invisible asset that could be put to use wherever a person settled. Consequently, a greater number of families allowed their daughters to leave home, unaccompanied, to acquire a university education (Nakleh and Zureik, 1980:154). This contrasts with the situation of Palestinian students at the American University of Beirut and International College in 1946-1947, when only 4 women were registered compared to 342 men (Badran, 1969:137-8).

15. For the refugees in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and in the Arab countries of the Middle East, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), established in 1950 to offer humanitarian assistance to a people without a country, provided a sound education for both Palestinian boys and girls. Before 1948, the education of females from villages in Palestine was usually cut short for economic and social reasons. UNRWA helped to change that situation throughout the Middle East, while providing employment for Palestinian women as headmistresses, school teachers, administrators, nurses, doctors, secretaries and vocational advisors (Sosebee, 1990:84).

16. The events of 1948 also led to a new phenomenon: many charitable associations were established to meet the needs of dispersed people and the destroyed nation. Women's organizations, active since 1947, set up training centres for female nurses, establishing the profession as a socially acceptable and respectable option for women. They also operated first-aid stations where minor surgery was performed; they campaigned for donations, ranging from tinned food to clothes and money; they organized "soup kitchens" in which even bourgeois society women participated.

17. As mentioned earlier, women came to play an important role in the refugee camps. For example, many charitable organizations provided needed services in the refugee camps by opening nurseries and mother and child centres as well as literary centres. This was necessitated by the economic situation that forced women to seek wage-earning jobs outside the home. It also reflected the breakdown in the extended family which resulted after 1948, and the unavailability of older female relatives in the household to care for the children (Haddad, 1980:161). Some organizations specialized in teaching simple skills such as sewing, weaving and embroidery. By 1967 there were 68 such associations in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

18. After 24 April 1950, when the West Bank become part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Jordanian legal system was introduced. The Jordanian Constitution's provision for equality of Jordanians before the law states that discrimination on the grounds of race, language or religion shall not be allowed. Discrimination on the grounds of gender, however, is not explicitly

mentioned. The laws governing charitable societies placed some restrictions on women's societies. The first Jordanian law regarding charitable societies, promulgated in 1956, provided for strict supervision of the activities of these societies, calling, for example, for the dissolution of a society either in the absence of appointed supervisors at meetings, or if the search of sites or records was refused. The 1956 Law allowed societies to object before the High Court of Justice if their applications for registration were refused, but the Law of 1966 abrogated this right.

19. Other women had a political role. After 1948, some Palestinian women joined the existing clandestine political parties, especially in Jordan, where the largest Palestinian population in the diaspora had taken refuge. They joined various movements, such as the Jordanian Communist Party, the Arab Ba'ath Party and the Arab Nationalist Movement. This new kind of militant woman, motivated mainly by nationalistic sentiments and purposes, functioned through political parties alongside men. However, party politics paid little attention to the question of women's rights per se, and women's political activities seldom went beyond the recruitment of new female members, or general discussions about equality between men and women. There were no specific programmes which recognized or focused on the unique position of women. The primary concern of most post-1948 political formations was anti-colonialist or naticnalist; as such, there was little if any motivaton seriously to tackle social issues. Despite the fact that these political parties comprised both men and women, most of them created special cells for women, as an extension of the existing segregation of the sexes. In most cases, women were assigned traditional duties such as secretarial work, carrying letters and collecting signatures. Most female members were recruited from the ranks of students or the educated. Female membership was unstable and subject to the woman's social circumstances. Clandestine activity and other political factors impeded the wide expansion of political activity among women in refugee camps or poor neighbourhoods (Abdul Jawwad, 1990:64).

20. Finally, loss of farmland, especially immediately after 1948, meant that the agrarian population had to enter into wage labour, and a new process of proletarianization of the Palestinian peasantry began, which did not spare women. Despite religious values and strict social control, it was essential for families to allow women to engage in employment for wages in order to supplement the meagre earnings of the head of the household. This provided women with increased freedom of movement, although that did not necessarily lead to other forms of freedom, such as full participation in decision-making. While the (now-refugee) rural women no longer worked in their fields, the economic deprivation that ensued after 1948 necessitated employment as a maid or servant to help supplement the family income. This situation created a disruption in traditional family patterns. Not only were some of the females of the family forced to enter the public arena and work in households other than their own, but their work became an indispensable source of household income.

21. Moreover, after 1948 women appeared eager to sell their dowries. Gold and jewellery were usually owned by married women, who obtained them as part of their dowries. As far as can be ascertained, wealth held in this form was not generally used to invest in property or in industry. Instead mothers sold

their possessions in small amounts to provide for their families during the first barren years of exile (Smith, 1984:122). Also women took on such work as sewing and laundry to add to family resources, and supply the vital extra funds needed to pay for accommodation in the city or to provide education for one or more children.

22. Consequently, as some studies show, there appeared to be an erosion of the authority and role of the male. No longer were they the sole providers, as their wives, sons and daughters increasingly participated in the maintenance of the family. A substantial number of Palestinian families were split up during the dispersal of 1948, resulting in a change in family structure. The general tendency towards the nuclear family affected the role of women. The absence from the home of the former extended-family members appears to have enhanced the role of women without seriously undermining the status of men. The wife increasingly assumed the role of companion and confidante, and participated in family decisions (Haddad, 1980:163).

23. In one sense, the dislocation of the Palestinian people actually created conditions for increased participation of women in the labour force, owing to the greater mobility that ensued as Palestinians spread out in search of employment. Yet, despite the fact that women were allowed to work, their social status and influence did not change immediately or noticeably. More and more women found themselves burdened with responsibilities in two domains: continued household and family duties combined with part-time or full-time employment.

Chapter II

PALESTINIAN WOMEN AND THE PROCESS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORY: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PERIOD 1967-1987

A. The general context

1. Overall conditions under occupation

24. Israeli economic policy towards the occupied Palestinian territory since 1967 has resulted in socio-economic changes that have affected not only Palestinian men but women as well. After 1967, tens of thousands of men began going daily into Israel to serve as labourers, while many others emigrated to the Persian Gulf region to find work. While this move certainly added to their family and decision-making responsibilities, there absence also left women to fill many of the traditionally male roles in the domestic arena, including as agricultural workers on small family farms. Moreover, this vast emigration of male workers led to a greater demand for agricultural labour, particularly at harvest time. Both women and children were thus employed by larger-scale Palestinian landlords to work on a seasonal basis in the citrus, almond and olive groves, as well as in the harvesting of other vegetables and fruit. Others found similar work in Israel. Women and children in Gaza Strip, for example, were employed as agricultural labourers in the Jewish settlements that were established in the area as well as in Sinai and in Israel itself. Most worked in the almond and citrus groves, in the vegetable and flower fields or in the greenhouse complexes established in the 1970s. While wages were extremely low and jobs often entailed travelling long distances, the extra cash income helped to supplement the meagre UNRWA rations and to provide funds for education and training (Smith, 1984:162).

25. Thus, women under occupation entered the labour market. They took up unskilled jobs at wages that were low in relation to those of Arab men. Furthermore, the nature of the jobs they tended to find - jobs that were temporary and dependent on the fluctuations of the Israeli market - provoked considerable stress. Nor were women freed from their domestic responsibilities, and the increased burden caused additional psychological stress (Jad, 1990:129).

26. A United Nations report on the conditions of the Palestinian people between 1985 and 1987 reveals some important information on women (United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1988:4). Palestinian women, like the rest of the Palestinian people, have been subjected to a life of deprivation and hardship for 40 years. Many have lost their homes and have endured the separation of their families. Most Palestinians now live either under occupation or in exile. Some have been living in daily fear of harassment, arrest and imprisonment. Those who have been separated from their male family members have had to assume the function of head of household, which has compelled them to take decisions and sometimes to seek employment for which they have not been adequately prepared. For some, this has meant putting their children in nurseries or kindergartens, thereby forgoing some

important traditional duties. The disruption of family life has led in some cases to emotional disturbances and conflict within the family, exacerbating the difficulties of adapting to life in the camps.

27. Palestinian women living in refugee camps have been confronted with special hardships and gross instability. Daily life in the camps has been a struggle against dust and mud: fetching water from distant stand-pipes, patching up walls and leaking roofs, washing the clothes of a family of eight or more, baking bread, and coping with all the diseases that arise from leaking drains, filthy streets, poor quality of food and squalid housing conditions. Women in camps, therefore, have experienced not only difficult living conditions, but also the insecurity of camp life, the deprivation of freedom and the lack of opportunity (United Nations Commission, 1988:4).

28. Various charitable organizations and women's associations have tried to help Palestinian women to improve their living conditions and to assume their new responsibilities. Through such activities, some organizations have sought to promote the new roles of Palestinian women, and to make them properly understood and socially accepted.

2. General policy and legislative conditions

29. There have been few significant changes over the last 30 years in the legal status of women with a bearing on their development prospects. Despite the political and social changes which have taken place in the West Bank since 1967, the legal provisions governing the position of women have remained relatively unchanged since the 1948-1967 period. Indeed, the legislation from that period has remained valid and in force throughout the Israeli occupation, though some new provisions were added by Israeli authorities.

30. Israeli Military Proclamation No. 2, issued by the Israeli Army Command in the West Bank on 7 June 1967, transferred all the legislative, executive and administrative powers previously held by the Jordanian Government to the General Military Commander for the West Bank region. All the laws in force at the time of occupation were to remain unchanged, unless modified by other provisions from the Israeli Military Commander. The same applied to the Gaza Strip following its occupation.

31. With two exceptions, the legal texts relating to the status of women remained the same as they were during the Jordanian period. The first exception is the law of personal status. Religious courts have remained entirely outside the powers of the Israeli military Government in the West Bank, and the Israeli authorities have made no attempt to bring them under their jurisdiction. While this practice was in keeping with established norms in the occupied territory (as well as in Israel and neighbouring Arab States), it had the effect of keeping the social development of Palestinian women since the occupation within the relatively constrained limits of prevailing religiously-based legislation. While this situation protected women from the influence of Israeli motivated legislation it also limited their possibilities to resort to legal or civic modes for promoting rapid or highly visible changes in women's social status (as regards such issues as marriage, divorce, inheritance, abortion - and other areas within the sphere of religious jurisdiction).

32. The second exception is one that Israelis often refer to as an example of concern for the development of the legal status of Palestinian women, notwithstanding its introduction almost 10 years after Israeli rule began. Military Order 627 of 1976 gives women voting rights and candidacy rights for municipal posts. This Order abrogated the provisions in the Jordanian Law of Municipalities that confined such rights to males. During the occupation, women have exercised their right to vote only once, in 1976; prior to that they were excluded from voting (in 1973); since then municipal elections have been banned completely. In many cases, the Israeli authorities have obstructed the establishment of charitable societies and professional unions by refusing to register them, and have restricted their work by selectively applying provisions from Jordanian law (Rishmawi, 1988:89).

33. The Jordanian Labour Law contains five sections concerning employment of women; these have not been changed by the Israeli authorities (Labour Law of The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Chapter 11:1960). The relevant sections include the following:

Section 46 - Safety

Section 47 - Night work

Section 50 - Employment of women in an organized establishment before and after childbirth

Section 51 - Right to maternity grant and employer's liability to pay

Section 52 - Maternity grant

These provisions established in 1960, are still in effect today. Yet, many women are still not aware of the existing labour laws and those who are generally do not seek the services of lawyers when the laws are disregarded. For example, many private institutions, especially schools, terminate the services of a teacher when she marries. Some women's committees have tried to introduce changes. They have prepared studies and publications concerning women's status and set out ideas and strategies for their development, urging working women to join unions. They have campaigned for equal pay for women, and for legal rights, and they have also succeeded in having International Women's Day recognized as a paid holiday in a number of West Bank institutions. However, despite these limited inroads, few changes in the legal status of women have come about over the past decades. The implications for the position of women are discouraging, especially with regard to greater participation outside the home.

3. Major demographic features

34. Economic changes may be usefully examined in the context of population growth. The nature of economic development under Israeli occupation, coupled with continued growth of population, has meant that the growth which has occurred in aggregate terms has not been translated into consolidated, continuing improvement in per capita terms: often quite the contrary. In addition, the increasing aging of the population will have increasingly significant implications for social and economic development, as a smaller

proportion of the population engages in productive activities. Greater recognition of the link between population issues and the advancement of women, directly through the reproductive process and indirectly by the educational role women play in the evolving Palestinian society, will help to better integrate women into the development process in future.

35. An examination of the annual growth rate of population in the occupied territory between 1968-1988, as shown in table 2.1, reveals considerable changes from year to year. The sources of population growth are: fertility, live births minus deaths and migration balance. The fertility rate characterizing the West Bank and Gaza population did not change over the last generation. The annual rate of natural increase (live births minus deaths) averages 2.05 per cent, as calculated from table 2.1. The growth rate of UNRWA registered population increase was estimated at 2.5 per cent for the year 1988 (United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1989:4). The constant fertility rate and decreasing mortality rates explain the very young age structure in the area: in the West Bank 47 per cent of the population in 1968 was under the age of 14, compared to 48 per cent of the population in 1988, while the average for the 21-year period was 46 per cent. In Gaza, the figures were 50 per cent of the population in 1968 and 49 per cent in 1988, with the average standing at 47 per cent (See table 2.2).

36. Table 2.3, which shows the population aged 14 and over by sex, reveals that for both the West Bank and Gaza a higher percentage of females were found in this age group. The figures show a higher percentage of females in all the years 1968 to 1988 but the gap becomes smaller in the last few years. This has been attributed to the emigration rate which was higher for men between the ages of 18 and 24, and those with secondary school and post-secondary education in the years between 1969 and 1983. A decline in emigration in the age group 15 to 29 was mainly owing to the opening of institutions of higher education, which allowed young people to seek education locally, eliminating the need to travel for schooling. In addition, females aged 14 years and over were more numerous because the males seeking higher education 15 years previously had to leave the country in order to study, and many did not come back. After 1983, however, the economic strength of the oil-producing countries began to weaken and Jordan's growth slowed as well. Moreover, the entry of young people into Jordan became subject to restrictions; so emigration from the West Bank diminished considerably during the period 1983 to 1988.

37. Table 2.4 shows the female labour force in both the West Bank and Gaza for the years 1968 to 1988, including a breakdown for females aged 14 and over. It is interesting to note that the crude activity rate for female labourers averages 11.7 per cent in the West Bank but only 3.9 per cent in Gaza. These figures are very low compared to this category in other countries (c.f table 2.4 and table 2.5). This participation rate constitutes one of the major bottlenecks in human resource development in the territory, with important implications for the future.

4. Social status and attitudes

38. Both Islam and Christianity perceive male and female as equal before God. In practice, however, both religions advocate a difference in status when the role of the wife is defined vis-à-vis her husband; she is generally expected to be obedient to him and to look after his physical, emotional and material needs in the home context. Centuries of religious commitment have so solidified cultural customs that this obedience has become, in the Palestinian case as elsewhere, a paradigm of female identity (Haddad, 1980). Thus, prior to the intifada, the role of the female as wife was widely perceived as involving obedience and commitment to the male as husband, while the husband's duties, in return, were the education of the son, not the daughter, as a source of pride, prestige and identity for the family as well as an investment in the future, since sons were expected to be a major source of income in the parents' old age.

39. As for women, the assumption that higher education could be an asset in finding an educated husband was often countered within the family by the assertion that too much education might, in the long run, prove counter-productive and be an impediment to marriage. Among social groups with less access to education this latter assertion may be true, since educated professional men from such backgrounds tend to seek partners from educated social groups, while those with lesser education often prefer less-educated women, who are thought to make more obedient wives.

40. During the period of Israeli occupation, one salient process of social transformation has been "proletarianization" among the peasantry, resulting in large measure from the confiscation of Palestinian land and the establishment of Israeli settlements. As agriculture became less reliable as a major source of income, both men and women were pushed into insecure wage labour, mainly inside Israel. This process of dispossession and proletarianization has had a marked impact on the Palestinian family, which could no longer rely on bonds of clan or kinship to preserve its viability. Far less self-sufficient, the family became increasingly dependent upon employment in Israel and elsewhere for its existence; traditional support systems began to erode. The impact of this on the role of women, particularly with regard to encouragement of educational attainment and labour force participation, was significant. However, despite certain structural changes, the Palestinian family remained a social unit well-equipped to withstand the dislocating effects of the occupation, since traditional relationships and customary ties within the family persisted. Indeed, the perceived threats to the security and "honour" of female members of the family in circumstances of military occupation, resistance and violence, became an important influence in consolidating the Palestinian nuclear family and its social authority.

B. Areas of involvement

41. This section discusses how, under Israeli occupation, certain social relationships were maintained while others were changed. Women's roles were extended but not transformed and in certain areas, women acquired greater freedom. In the political realm these changes were expressed by: greater involvement of women in the nationalist movement, though with limitations on that involvement; the growth of student organizations in which women

participated; growing enfranchisement of women and female participation in higher education; development of mass organizations and women's organizations as an alternative to charitable societies; and the development of a women's movement. The implications of these changes for the socio-economic development process are discussed in the following sections.

1. Features of women's involvement in the national struggle and in development

42. In the occupied territory, women first confronted the occupation through their participation in the charitable organizations and the General Union of Palestinian Women. Both forms were linked to the Palestinian leadership embodied in the "National Guidance Committee", which was established in 1967 but disbanded in 1969 to be followed by the "National Front" after 1971 (Jad, 1990:129). In the early days of the occupation, Israel ignored women as a mass social force in the national struggle. Nevertheless, as early as 1968 there were 100 women prisoners in Israeli jails, accused mainly of contact with, or membership in, armed resistance organizations, concealing weapons or incitement. Women who participated in armed struggle were imprisoned and tortured, thus challenging the notion of women as weak, and the concept of "women's honour" (Hawa-Tawil, 1983:131).

43. In 1975 and 1976, university student organizations were created comprising both women and men. The growing number of demonstrations by students encouraged the participation of women (Ma'oz 1984:116-17). Several factors contributed to the mounting involvement of women in political resistance in the West Bank and Gaza Strip during 1975-1982:

(a) Women were granted the right to vote for the first time in the 1976 municipal elections through an Israeli military order amending the 1955 Jordanian electoral law and enfranchising all people over the age of 21. The authorities mistakenly calculated that Arab women would tend to vote conservatively (Ma'oz, 1984:134-36). In fact, they voted heavily in favour of nationalist and progressive candidates. With this revolutionary transformation of two dozen town and city councils, bringing a younger and more progressive leadership to the forefront, women's public involvement in social affairs assumed a new dimension. Various municipalities organized volunteer work camps (most notably in the Bethlehem-Jerusalem-Ramallah-Al-Bireh areas) that were attended by young women and men, thereby creating the breeding grounds for women activists who were for the first time openly participating in such mass activity.

(b) From the mid- to late-1970s, nine post-secondary education colleges were opened, heavily attended by young women, who made up from 35 to 55 per cent of various student bodies (Jad, 1990:130). The colleges were popular with young women because they were located in areas where women students could attend during the day and still live at home.

(c) Several women's committees were established in order to channel more effectively women's potential and elevate their political and national role. The Union of Palestinian Working Women's Committees was created in March 1980, the Palestinian Women's Committee (later the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees) in March 1981, and the Women's Committee for Social Work in June 1982 (Jad, 1990:131).

44. In the quest for emancipation, women made several demands, such as equality with men in the form of equal pay for equal work, and various types of social protection for working women. What is meant by "women's social issues" takes the form of equality in general. In the women's publications no mention is made of the laws that govern women's status in society, or of the traditional values that still reinforce the tribal and patriarchal culture, especially for rural women. Many feminist-based issues concerning gender are avoided (Jad, 1990:132).

45. The methods adopted by the women's groups do not differ in form from those of the charitable organizations. Some involve the establishment of nurseries, training programmes, literacy centres, workshops and cooperatives. The major difference between the women's groups and the charitable organizations lies in the people who supervise such projects and their objectives. Their level of political consciousness has an effect on transforming that of the participants, and in giving them self-confidence through shared decision-making, decisions by vote, the holding of elections, deciding on common agendas, etc. Projects undertaken by women's organizations provide a permanent pool for various national or women's activities, whether in the village, refugee camp or city. The project is not a goal in itself but a means to achieve a future goal. Sometimes, especially during intense factional conflict, the increase in the number of these projects is taken as a measure of the strength of a given political faction. In spite of all these overlapping efforts, the number of organized women is still low, not exceeding 3 per cent of the population (Jad, 1990:132).

46. A women's movement emerged that tried to go to the villages instead of expecting the villages to come to it. From centralized charitable societies dominated by middle-class women involved in charitable work in the 1970s, the progressive movement of women's committees developed. It was founded in the attempt to mobilize rural women and those in refugee camps. Participation in village life took the form of formal and informal women's committees. This led to an understanding of the position of women that had not previously been appreciated in society. It was found that it was not possible to mobilize underprivileged women before basic needs were fulfilled. Women living with their families under very bad conditions and with a very high illiteracy rate had other priorities. Moreover, these women, because of social traditions, could not move about freely. There were big differences among various groups living in towns, in camps and in villages, as there were between men and women. Awareness of these differences led to efforts within the women's committees to improve the general status of women socially, culturally and economically.

47. The Palestinian women's committees have helped the development of women by explaining and convincing women's parents about the importance of education and by bringing to the attention of mothers the need for their own education.

If Palestinian women are to be part of a changing society, they too must develop socially, culturally and economically in order to meet their increasing obligations as wives and mothers, as well as wage-earners.

2. Social activities involving women

(a) Health

48. Though this section deals with overall health conditions, it is relevant to women, since the health of any family member affects the mother directly. Overall, health conditions had remained bad throughout the 20 years of Israeli military rule. Infant mortality in the region was persistently high, estimated at 50 to 100 deaths per 1,000 live births for the West Bank and Gaza Strip for the late 1970s and early 1980s (Barghouti-Giacaman, 1990:74). Malnutrition had affected a substantial proportion of children under the age of five, reaching a level as high as 50 per cent of all children in some communities. Parasite infestation had remained a major public health hazard, reaching 50 per cent infestation levels among school children in Gaza, and similar levels among preschool children in the West Bank. All in all, it would be safe to state that health conditions under Israeli military rule were unacceptably poor.

49. In 1986, the physician-to-population ratio reached the low level of 8 per 10,000 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, compared with 28 per 10,000 for Israel and 22 per 10,000 for Jordan. Although the private health sector did not fall completely under the control of the authorities, as happened with governmental health services, it was subjected to serious curtailment and distortion (Barghouti-Giacaman, 1990:75).

50. In the late 1970s and early 1980s a new movement developed at the grass-roots level based on cooperation between mass-based political and social organizations. It drew on the experience and problems of the previous generation of medical and health care providers. It was founded primarily by urban-based health professionals in their twenties and thirties with progressive inclinations and rather strong links to the mass-based organizations increasingly active in the towns, villages and refugee camps of the West Bank and Gaza. Its influence drew upon its popular power base: men and women volunteer physicians, nurses, and other health professionals and workers, in contrast to the power of money, equipment, and buildings that often characterized previous endeavours in medical health care promotion. The new movement exposed a populist, egalitarian dimension previously unknown in Palestinian health care provision. It therefore entailed alternative visions of both the national and health problems in the area.

51. The guiding principle of this new movement was the transfer of health services to the rural areas and refugee camps, under the slogan "reaching people with services instead of people having to reach the services in urban areas". Primary health care had considerable appeal to international aid agencies such as United Nations agencies, as well as church and solidarity groups from Europe and the United States. To this new movement, primary health care essentially meant simple curative techniques supporting preventive measures and consciousness-raising/educational efforts. It also introduced new concepts and methods in health-care provision that were better able to

fulfil people's health needs at the grass-roots level. In this way the new movement succeeded in building and developing the indispensable missing segment in the Palestinian health infrastructure: the primary health care network (Barghouti-Giacaman, 1990:75-80).

(b) Education

52. Between 1967 and 1987, various institutions of higher learning were created or upgraded by Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Parents who would not have considered sending their daughters abroad for education now had local universities in which to educate their children. Another field which witnessed a tremendous rate of growth was that of community college education, or the two-year post-secondary education. A third field of rapid growth was enrolment in pre-school education. Growth in total enrolment at various levels of education can be seen clearly in table 2.6, while table 2.7 provides information on the gender distribution of students in community colleges and other post-secondary education establishments. Table 2.8 summarizes the educational level of men and women aged 18 to 24 in 1983.

53. Meanwhile, Palestinian women's voluntary associations have established a system of adult education to replace the system which functioned under the Education Department before it was abolished by the occupation authorities. A popular Higher Committee for Literacy and Adult Education was established to be responsible for all activities in literacy and adult education. By most accounts, the illiteracy rate has continued to fall since Israeli occupation. The illiteracy rate among women aged 15 to 45 was estimated at 20.2 per cent, or 47,329 out of 234,800 (UNESCO, March 1990:39). Total illiteracy (among men and women aged 15 to 45) was 9.3 per cent (55,154 out of 596,200) in the West Bank (no data are available on illiteracy in the Gaza Strip). By 1989, some 50,670 adults had benefited from literacy centres. In the period 1986-1987, there were 129 literacy centres in the occupied territory with 2,451 participants.

54. It is not possible to provide an analysis of the participation of girls in all educational institutions throughout the occupied territory. While such data are not available for the Gaza Strip, they are available for the West Bank, where the enrolment of girls is 45.9 per cent of all enrolled students (UNESCO, March 1990:9). The significant effect that UNRWA has had on the education of Palestinian women is best seen in the change in the ratio of male to female students enrolled in their schools. In the 1950-1951 school year, UNRWA recorded a 74 to 26 per cent ratio of male to female enrolment. By 1988-89, the ratio of boys to girls in UNRWA schools was 51 to 49 per cent (Sosebee, 1990:84).

55. Many Palestinian villages lack secondary schools for girls. This causes many of the more conservative families to withdraw their daughters from school after the preparatory level, since coeducation is widely considered socially unacceptable and gender-segregated schools cannot be found in all areas. Nevertheless, Palestinian women are among the best-educated in the Arab world (Sosebee, 1990:84). During the period 1979-1980 to 1986-1987, the rate of the participation of women in university study was 41 per cent. This high rate compares favourably with most developing countries. The rate varies from one institution to another. It is highest in Jerusalem, where females are the

majority, and lowest in Bir Zeit University (see table 2.9). Students, especially females, prefer to enrol in the university which is nearest to their residence. As table 2.10 demonstrates, the majority of the students of each university come from the locality in which the university is located or from neighbouring areas.

(c) Welfare and charitable work

56. The major framework for women's organizations and activity in the past was the many traditional charitable societies located in urban areas. Among the most successful of these was Inaash El-Usra (Society for Family Development) in El-Bireh. Its activities grew from two rooms in 1965 to a large modern building with 152 employees, an orphanage for 150 girls, a day-care centre for 200 children, two small factories that produce confections and lingerie, and a catering service, as well as a wide variety of programmes by the 1980s. Another organizational success was the Arab Women's Union in Nablus, which runs a hospital. These societies were motivated by nationalist as well as charitable concerns and were led largely by urban middle-class women.

57. In 1967, on the eve of the Israeli occupation, there were 89 charitable organizations in the West Bank, registered in accordance with Jordanian law. By 1983 there were 166 such organizations, distributed over seven administrative districts (see table 2.11). These organizations have been active in the areas of rehabilitation and vocational education for women, services for the handicapped, educational services, health and ambulance services, community services and kindergartens.

58. An Israeli military staff officer supervises the activities of the charitable organizations and authorizes the establishment of new ones. Since 1981, the policy of the Civil Administration has been to restrict the establishment of new charities as much as possible, as some are viewed as fronts for illegal activities. The contribution of the Civil Administration to these organizations, some of which provide basic essential services, is minimal. In 1983-1984, only 2.7 per cent of the Administration budget was allocated to support for charitable organizations. The total budget of these organizations is five times greater than the Administration's total welfare budget; they are financed by contributions and grants from the Arab world and from religious and secular charitable institutions abroad (Benvenisti, 1986:162). While these societies have been very active in serving the rural and refugee poor, they did so largely without the participation of those they served.

59. In 1964, Palestine National Council member Yousra Albarbary re-established the Palestinian Women's Union (PWU) in the Gaza Strip, which was then under Egyptian administration. The PWU focused mainly on raising the health, cultural, social and economic standards of all women and the Palestinian family. Though the Union refrained from embracing an openly feminist doctrine, its goal of providing educational and marketable skills for all women in Gaza was, at that time, a rather untraditional stance. "We were and are committed to helping women understand that they have a significant role to play in the struggle of our people," Ms. Albarbary said recently, explaining, "We will address more the social inequalities facing our people

when the burden of occupation is removed from our lives." The PWU helps to educate Palestinian women in Gaza. Hebrew and English classes are provided and more than 500 children receive day-care services in Gaza city (Sosebee, 1990:84-85).

3. Participation in economic activities

60. Palestinian women seeking higher education have tended to concentrate on relatively "feminine" topics. Although, there are three private community colleges that provide training in technical fields, according to table 2.12 female participation in these fields is a low 3.3 per cent, all concentrated in two areas of study.

61. "Honour" and "respectability" continue to be operative criteria in defining female professions. Parents of women residing in refugee camps and villages are concerned about them working outside the camp. Family reputation is placed above economic need; the majority would rather be poor than allow their daughters to take up certain jobs. There are, however, professions considered acceptable for women, including those of nurse, secretary, typist and social worker. Some women are self-employed as hairdressers, seamstresses or managers of retail outlets.

62. As table 2.4 shows the share of females in the labour force averaged 11.7 per cent in the West Bank, and only 3.9 per cent in Gaza. One of the main reasons for this low participation rate is that many families refuse to allow their daughters to work in Israeli industry as males do. In addition, many Palestinian men feel an obligation toward women, especially with regard to the provision of an adequate income. When a woman leaves her home or village in search of paid work, it is taken as an indication that the male head of the household can no longer provide an income sufficient to fulfil the family's needs. This can be felt as a source of shame to all concerned.

63. Despite social inhibitions, and due to the deportation, imprisonment and migration of male members of the family, many women have been obliged to take up employment. A great number of women go to work in Israel as migrant agricultural workers. Palestinian women's labour is also being exploited by Israeli enterprises set up in the occupied territory. These subcontracting enterprises specialize in finishing goods such as garments imported from Israel; the wages that women receive are nearly 50 per cent lower than wages for equivalent work in Israel.

64. The fact that most working women are concentrated in the so-called "feminine" occupations related to education, health and social planning should not be a cause, per se, for discouragement since these areas, as much as any other, are badly in need of qualified local people. Nevertheless, women should also be encouraged to enter areas traditionally dominated by men, as well; it is certain that women will begin to be more visible in other professional fields. The areas in which females are concentrating at the university level makes the present distribution inevitable. Undoubtedly the situation of women will only improve with the continual rise in educational levels and social and economic development. While prospects for higher levels of participation in the labour force are clear, women's levels of

representation are still very low. The effect of local traditions regarding sex segregation is still pervasive and no woman would embark on a career without first consulting her family, and the male head in particular. However, with time and the effects of equal educational opportunities, in particular, it is likely that tradition will wield less weight against the forces of modernization, and that women's quantitative as well as qualitative input into the economy will rise.

C. Major areas of institutional change and progress

65. In the late 1970s, a new generation of young activists launched a number of grass-roots committees and movements in the West Bank, and to a lesser extent in Gaza. These included volunteer work committees, trade and student unions, youth movements and a grass-roots health movement. A new generation of women, many of whom had been politicized in the student movements at Palestinian universities, founded grass-roots women's committees. These, in contrast to the charitable society network of women's organizations, sought to involve the majority of women in the West Bank who lived in villages, along with women in camps, the urban poor and women workers as well as intellectuals and urban middle-class women, in a united women's movement.

66. Reflecting the concerns current in student circles and political organizations, the first two committees - the Women's Work Committee and the Working Women's Committee - began by focusing on the conditions of women factory workers. The first project of the Women's Work Committee, for example, was a 1978 survey of women textile workers in the Ramallah area. These committees, joined in 1982 by the Palestinian Women's Committee and in 1984 by the Women's Committee for Social Work, launched a series of projects serving women; they covered: literacy, small-scale production training, nurseries, kindergartens and health education. These projects were animated by the desire to mobilize women and raise their nationalist consciousness. Three of the committees articulated a programme of improving women's status in society, although national liberation remained the overriding concern.

67. The four committees reflected the four main political streams in the nationalist movement: a factionalism which created competition and occasionally hampered their attempts to respond to local conditions and women's needs. The relationships among these four women's committees have often been constrained by competition over such matters as which committee claims the largest number of women in its ranks, and which has succeeded in establishing the largest number of programmes for women in the largest number of villages and refugee camps in the shortest period of time. The quality of the programmes has not always been the overriding concern. Despite these difficulties, however, the progressive committees' movement has succeeded in achieving gains that must not be underestimated (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988:61).

68. The Women's Work Committee (WWC), for example, differs from the earlier charitable associations in structure and ideology. Without formal membership or offices, it is less susceptible to undesirable external interference. It is decentralized, allowing maximum self-direction to local village, camp and work-place committees, so that its activities are chosen on the basis of local needs rather than being decided by an urban-based governing committee. The committee has recruited members from all segments of society, with the aim of

building a mass women's movement that goes beyond the various limitations of the charitable associations. "While the older movement is guided by the perspective of charity or steadfastness, the WWC's aim is at mobilizing women in both the women's and the national struggle" (Sayigh, 1988:259).

69. Another of the elements of the women's movement, the Working Women's Committee has as its priority to make working women aware of their threefold oppression:

(a) That originating in the traditional patriarchal nature of society;

(b) That found in the workplace;

(c) That caused by Israeli occupation.

70. The membership of these committees reflects the ideological views of the factions in the larger national movement. As the women's groups are part of the national movement, their programmes and policies are linked to the movement's wider policies, which it might be argued are in the interest of Palestinian people in general. Both inside and outside the movement, political awareness outstrips social consciousness; the patriarchy that dominates the social system also shapes the political structure of the movement. Consequently, the role of women in the movement is generally seen as supplementary support for the national movement. In order not to disrupt the existing power relations between men and women, the movement encourages women to serve the struggle in their socially accepted role as mothers, preparing their sons for political activism, and as wives, deferring to their husbands' roles on behalf of the Palestinian cause. The participation of women in even the most radical factions is subject to male domination. It involves mainly working on women's projects or domestic support for male activists (Kazi, 1987:34-37). However, this does not negate the political awareness of Palestinian women, who are conscious of the mutually reinforcing nature of their struggle - i.e., both the political struggle for national liberation and the effort to bring about social change within the society in order to extend their contribution in the national struggle. This is seen clearly in chapter III.

71. The greater participation of women in the labour force, as well as the increase in their level of education, are important factors that have changed society's perceptions of women's roles. For example the grass-roots committees, some of which were formed before the uprising, created the structures that later sustained the intifada: developing health and sanitation services, agricultural programmes, food distribution networks, methods of disseminating information, alternative forms of education and ways of helping the families of prisoners and deportees. Partly because the four women's committees had been active for up to a decade before the uprising, and partly because the intifada helped to reduce many of the traditional restraints on women, women have formed the backbone of these new forms of social organization.

72. The nationalist movement itself has been male-dominated: women's participation comes mainly from business and educated middle-class groups. While women cadres are often critical of women's secondary political position

and role, their welfare work among ordinary women - for example in literacy classes, vocational training in sewing, typing, hairdressing, nutrition, health and child care - does offer some satisfaction of having a role in the nationalist movement. There is no denying that all these programmes are essential to the quality of life of people even under occupation, and that it is necessary to have these programmes and projects to allow the movement to continue its struggle. However, these activities mainly represent extensions of women's domestic roles. Female participation is conditioned by the structure and social ideology of the movement and therefore generally does not reach women at the popular level; when it does, it usually takes the form of domesticity reaching into the political arena (Kazi, 1987:38). This clearly reflects the weakness of women's participation at the economic level at this particular stage of their development, notwithstanding the impact of the intifada, which is referred to in detail in chapter III.

73. Many writers have tackled the subject of women's emancipation and human freedom. For some, these concepts mean freedom from the rules and modes of social behaviour, on the premise that everything emanating from society was negative. This is a limited view, for every society has its own qualities and cultural characteristics, and other bases from which national identity springs. True, there are many traditions that restrict women. But this can be considered only part of the problem, not all of it. Confining the concern to this narrow range neglects political meanings and positions on the concept of freedom.

74. Palestinian women often encounter opposition from men (or from other women) when they try to deal with women's issues, since these are not considered "political" issues and indeed one often regarded as trivial. This reflects the prevailing attitude which restricts women's role to the home and to domestic affairs. Thus, most women either find it difficult to pursue their political involvement, or content themselves with the secondary roles available to them. The lack of participation of women in the movement toward emancipation, then, is largely owing to social constraints, though subjective factors must also be given due consideration.

75. An important impact on Palestinian society has been involvement in popular committees and the changed role of women in the resistance movement, where many have proved to be able and responsible political and social leaders. The increased activism of women in the resistance movement has in turn a bearing on their social status and role. Though gender equality is still far off, Palestinian women are active in new roles which previously were acceptable only for men (see Sosebee, 1990:82).

D. Obstacles to fuller participation

1. Health conditions and provision

76. Any discussion of women's health of necessity refers to mother and child health care. The West Bank has a very high birth rate (about 4.5 per cent) and a high infant mortality rate (50 to 100 per thousand births), thus mother and child health care is a priority in future development. The number of births occurring in hospitals has increased substantially since 1968. By 1979

an estimated 37 per cent of births occurred in hospital. Between 1975 and 1980, an average of 5.8 per cent of the total number of visits to clinics consisted of first visits involving 0-1 year olds (table 2.13).

77. Of the 31,823 recorded births in 1980, only 5,194 (16 per cent) children attended government clinics. Thus, the health of the vast majority of 0-1 year olds is not catered for by the government clinics. Official figures show an increase in the number of mother and child clinics and in the number of hospital births, but these two services cover only a minority of the population (17 per cent and 34 per cent respectively). Moreover, there is a shortage of facilities to deal with neonatal problems.

78. Health facilities have not changed significantly since 1967. The increase in the number of government clinics and mother and child centres have not brought treatment to greater numbers of patients. Furthermore, the opening of new government departments has not resulted in an increase in the number of beds. Increasing the number of departments has been achieved by reducing the size of existing ones. The development of health facilities has been hindered by the closure of some hospitals and the refusal of planning permission to build new ones. Moreover, the budget for health services is insufficient to finance necessary improvements in existing clinics and hospitals (Ishaq and Smith, 1984:81-82).

79. Health conditions and services are important factors affecting the development of women. This is precisely why addressing mother and child, as well as family, health problems must be considered an integral part of any effective strategy for improving health conditions and services. Similarly, the Palestinian health agenda must reflect the social content of the Palestinian struggle - both for national liberation and for building an equitable society where good health and access to health care for all members of the family are a fundamental human right.

2. Educational levels

80. Work opportunities in Israeli industry appear to encourage a large number of students attending the preparatory schools to drop out, either to join accelerated vocational training programmes and then the Israeli labour market as semi-skilled workers, or to become unskilled workers in Israeli industry.

81. The situation in regard to secondary education is different from that of the primary and preparatory levels (see table 2.14). Education beyond the preparatory level (i.e., after the age of 15) is not compulsory and many students finishing this level prefer to seek work. The UNRWA gross enrolment ratios at the secondary level indicate that 53 per cent in the Gaza Strip and 70 per cent in the West Bank of the secondary school age population are out of school (the net rates for out-of-school children is 63 per cent for Gaza and 76 per cent for the West Bank) (UNESCO, March 1990:15). Also, it should be noted that education at the secondary level is available only to those who are considered to be academically eligible. For this reason, enrolment ratios are much lower at this level than for the other two levels.

82. Low secondary school enrolment is also apparent in the number of girls who leave schools early either to look after their brothers and sisters if the family is very large, or to get married at an early age. Chapter III will discuss the effect of girls leaving school early and getting married at a very young age. Another obstacle to fuller participation of women in higher education is the unbalanced geographic distribution of community colleges, most of which are concentrated in and around Jerusalem. There are other districts of the occupied territory that suffer from a shortage of educational opportunities at the community college level. This restricts women from attending these colleges, especially if they must travel long distances every day.

3. Economic aspects

83. As noted, there is little detailed information about the period from 1967 to 1987 regarding women's economic activity other than the generally accepted fact of low female participation in the labour force, at least formally. However, several recent surveys and field interviews were held to gather more information on the current situation. Detailed findings are presented in chapter III.

84. For example, women's participation in economic decision-making is currently low. As women continue to achieve equality in access to education there will be more qualified women available for management positions, but this needs time and action programmes in the future. Also the entry of women into the labour force has been largely due to necessity; the conditions under which they work are often inferior to those of men; employment for women is concentrated in the unregulated informal sector and is accompanied by large-scale urbanization or international migration, which has undercut the extended family as an institution. Women's roles have become all the more difficult owing to factors already mentioned: the fact that household responsibilities are not shared and the decline in the ability of the extended family or the community to provide the necessary support services to lighten women's double burden.

85. Women have always participated, but not as owner-managers of businesses. They have always worked in the background, helping their fathers or husbands, directly or indirectly. They have also helped greatly in agriculture, as mentioned earlier. Some have been workers in various kinds of factories in the West Bank and Gaza as well as in Israel. Certainly, the limited access of women to appropriate technical education, the difficulties inherent in reaching work places distant from villages and houses, and the menial nature of many of the employment opportunities that do exist are all factors which have contributed to restricting the greater integration of women into economic activities.

4. Other social services, child care in particular

86. Pre-school education has been playing an increasingly important role, especially with more mothers going out to work. For the year 1987/88 there were 29,418 children attending kindergartens (table 2.15). These figures do not represent all children of pre-school age. Most of these schools are privately owned and therefore charge fees. If a mother who has several young

children contemplates working, she may find that the fees for pre-schooling will be greater than the amount she could hope to earn. Thus, there is great need for national institutions with both pre-school and child care centres that will be available to the population at large and not to only certain social or economic groups. This limited opportunity for pre-school education creates an obstacle to participation by women in social and economic development.

87. A similar obstacle is a lack of old people's homes. The woman in the household is responsible for all the family as well as her in-laws. If the woman goes out to work, who will take care of the elderly? There are extremely few old people's homes. For example, there is only one in the Bethlehem area; it has a capacity for only 35 women, and no place for men. There are two in east Jerusalem, one of them for both sexes, but they house no more than 90 persons. There is one in Nablus which houses 35. With more people living beyond retirement age, this problem is becoming critical. One pressing need is to have day centres for old people, both men and women, where they could have a hot meal, share the day with others of their own age, and contribute to society within their capacity through the centre.

88. While the obstacles to the social and economic development of women are many, they can be overcome if there is a comprehensive examination of these problems and the necessary planning at the national level. Women's further advancement depends in large measure on whether conditions of employment, education, health and other social services change so as to provide the necessary support to women's growing economic role; up to 1987 at least, these conditions were not met.

Chapter III

PALESTINIAN WOMEN AND THE UPRISING: CHANGING PERCEPTION AND ROLE

A. Nature and broad features of participation since the uprising

1. General activities

89. Palestinian women had played a major role in the intifada since its beginning. It was not new for Palestinian women to take on a political role in society (at least not since 1948), but the scope and various manifestations of this role were transformed. From the start, women of all ages and social classes participated in all aspects of the demonstrations that broke out on 9 December 1987. These activities were most intense in poorer neighbourhoods of towns, villages and refugee camps. Women's actions were sometimes violent, and often involved serious confrontations with the army. Active participation of middle-aged, traditional women also occurred, as when they formed human shields between youths and Israeli soldiers. Their very participation in these confrontations indicated a transformation of consciousness: women had begun to question the values whereby the isolation of women from participating in the events that surrounded them had been an attempt to ensure the safety of family members.

90. By the time of the uprising, the women's committees had developed to include seasoned women leaders and a popular base with firm roots in towns, villages and camps. While not the generators of women's mass participation in the uprising, the committees did play a major role in shaping that participation (Giacaman and Johnson, 1990:159). The popular committees formed at the community level helped to unite people, including women, who were to varying degrees active in five principal areas: agriculture, education, food storage, medical care, and civil guard committees. In the towns women participated actively from the beginning, with variations based on qualifications and age. Relatively speaking, women were most active in the education committees. For much of 1988, they bore the brunt of organizing and carrying out neighbourhood popular schooling, made necessary by months of military-imposed closures of West Bank schools. In this respect, of course, women were in fact continuing traditional practices, since they have largely been entrusted with child care and constitute the majority of teachers at all levels of pre-university education.

91. Women's committees took the lead in camps and villages in setting up literacy programmes, nurseries and kindergartens and, with schools shut in the West Bank for nearly a year, in developing innovative ways of teaching and learning in homes, mosques and churches. Women have been trained in the medical field, and in methods of first aid and sanitation. Women's committees have also spear-headed a drive to compile lists of the blood types of residents, so that in an emergency situation an appropriate donor could be contacted quickly.

92. Despite the massive participation of refugee camp women in demonstrations, their involvement in popular committees has been weak and indirect. In the camps, committees were formed, but meetings were held in coffee shops or in mosques, places to which women seldom go. In the villages,

committees similar in structure and function to those of the camps were formed, but there only men took part. Women and girls did not participate, although village women, like camp women, took an active part in such mass-based activities as marches, demonstrations and martyrs' funeral processions. There was also some coordination with women's organizations, but mixed popular committees of men and women like those found in the cities were never formed (Jad, 1990:133-135).

93. Nevertheless, no longer are uneducated Palestinian village or camp-dwelling women confined to the home. Even in the conservative atmosphere of Gaza, where religious and social traditions are stronger than in the West Bank, women are expected to attend meetings and help organize food supplies and keep a lookout for soldiers. They are largely responsible for growing and preserving food in order to free communities from reliance on the Israeli market. Their small scattered gardens escape Israeli licensing restrictions, and give villages or camps the capacity to survive long periods under curfews.

94. The reality in which Palestinian women find themselves since the intifada continues to be shaped by the interaction of problems resulting from the external national struggle, and the internal problems associated with gender inequity. This presents a paradox: the national question is a major factor which both supports the movement for women's emancipation and simultaneously limits its further development. It supports increased liberty by calling on women to move beyond the household realm and to face the occupation side-by-side with men. But it hinders further development by denying women the feminist goals and content of emancipation, thereby confining the changes in their role to the national liberation struggle only. This, in turn, impedes the development of a feminist strategy independent of, yet integrally linked to, the nationalist struggle (Giacaman and Odeh, 1988:62-63).

2. Decision-making

95. There is no indication that women's participation in decision-making has increased through their experience in the popular committees; any increase that might be discernible has been rather a result of political affiliation and has remained within the parameters of the existing political balance. Palestinian women in the occupied territory clearly do not possess such instruments of power as wealth, control of institutions, or legal authority that might place them in positions to influence decision-making, at least in the public domain. Even given the dramatic rise in the education of women, they still remain many steps behind men; decision-making, in both the public and private domains, remains predominantly a male prerogative. However, some interesting indications of changes in decision-making within the family have been revealed by recent surveys 1/ conducted in representative communities in the occupied territory (Bethlehem University, 1989; Salman et.al; 1990) (see table 3.1).

96. Table 3.1 shows that an average of 40 per cent of the daily shopping in these communities is done by the husbands; 26 per cent by anybody else in the family; 22 per cent, by wives; and 10 per cent by one of the children. The relatively high percentage of daily shopping by men is explained by the fact that they go out to work and can more conveniently buy from shops near their

place of employment. Table 3.2 indicates that in the areas studied an average of 38 per cent of the purchasing decisions regarding major household equipment is undertaken jointly by both the husband and wife, closely followed by a lower average 28 per cent by husband, wife and children together. The husband decides alone an average of 19 per cent of the time, followed by 12 per cent for the wife's decision alone.

97. Thus we see that wives share with husbands decisions which involve buying major household equipment, and that the rate of sharing in these decisions within the household is high. Though comparative data for earlier years is not available, and notwithstanding the limited nature of this particular indicator, women appear to share significantly in decision-making, starting at the home level.

3. Social status and living conditions

98. An important change in the social position of women is manifested in changing patterns in the ways that a wife is chosen. Table 3.3 indicates that the choice of a wife by parents alone averages only 6 per cent, while the choice of parents and son together averages 17 per cent. A son's choice with parents' approval reaches an average of 63 per cent, which means a large proportion of young men tend to choose a wife alone and then have their choice approved by their parents. Those marrying without parental approval average only 2 per cent, certainly a critical indicator of the importance of the family unit in contemporary Palestinian society (see table 3.3)

99. Marriages between relatives in Palestinian society are not as frequent as was commonly thought. Table 3.4 shows that three situations - marriage to a first cousin, to a second cousin, and to a cousin on the mother's side - averaged 9 per cent each. Marriage within the family/hamula (tribe) accounted for 16 per cent, while marriage to non-relatives reached a high of 53 per cent (see table 3.4).

100. Women are affected both socially and economically by the age at which they marry, and by the age of the men they marry. In many developing countries women marry at a very young age - about 50 per cent of African women, 40 per cent of Asian women and 30 per cent of Latin American women are married by the age of 18, according to the World Fertility Survey. Table 3.5 shows that in the surveyed communities of the West Bank and Gaza Strip women also tend to marry very young (see table 3.5).

101. Men tend to marry at older ages. In Sudan, for instance, husbands are on average more than eight years older than their wives. In Pakistan the average age gap is about six years; in Colombia and Paraguay the age difference averages between four and five years (UNFPA:5). Table 3.5 indicates that men in the surveyed communities of the West Bank and Gaza follow the same trend of marrying at older ages, and that the average age gap between husband and wife is about six years.

102. Wide age gaps between husband and wife have several consequences. For one, they mean that a young wife is likely to be socially less experienced and less confident than her husband. But, perhaps more importantly, it means that

the likelihood of a woman being widowed is very high and - in the absence of alternative economic means of securing her future - this increases her potential dependence on her children (see table 3.6).

103. The increased dependence of Palestinian women on their children can be seen from the average number of children they bear compared to women in the rest of the world. The average number of children born to each woman in the world dropped from 3.6 in the period 1970 to 1975 to 3.4 in 1980 to 1985; equivalent figures for the developing world are 4.5 to 4.2 over the same period (UNFPA, 1990:2). In the West Bank and Gaza, the average number of children born to each woman in the 13 areas studied was 4.4, among the highest in the world.

104. Childbirth anywhere in the world has its risks, particularly without proper prenatal care, and attention during and after delivery. In China, Gambia, the Philippines, Colombia and Botswana over 80 per cent of women visit a clinic during their pregnancies. In many countries the proportion is far lower: under 33 per cent, in Ecuador, Honduras and Thailand (UNFPA, 1990:9). Table 3.7 depicts a wide range in the percentages of those Palestinian women who receive medical care before delivery: the lowest being 32 per cent in Aboud and the highest reaching 80 per cent in Dehesheh camp, owing to the clinics provided in the camp by UNRWA as well as the proximity of clinics to areas of residence. In cities, an average of 53 per cent receives medical care monthly. Many women in the cities are obliged to seek care from expensive private clinics and thus avoid going for monthly check-ups. As for the delivery, some women go to private doctors and deliver their babies in clinics and not in general hospitals or maternity hospitals, then after an hour or two they go home. This trend started during the intifada owing to poor economic conditions (see table 3.7).

105. Medical care after delivery is highest in Dehesheh camp, reaching 49 per cent. This is quite high considering that only 2.4 per cent of those interviewed did not respond. In Nablus, those receiving medical care following birth stood at 52 per cent, but a larger 12 per cent did not respond. In Aboud, 12 per cent of women received care after delivery, based on a 100 per cent response rate. The lowest figure was for Ein Arik, where only 4 per cent received medical care after delivery, with 9 per cent not responding. Thus, it appears that care after delivery is either unavailable or not considered especially important in areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

106. The United Nations Commission on the Status of Women has recently indicated that health conditions have been affected by the last five years of continuous tension in the occupied territory, particularly in terms of psychological well-being (United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1993: paras. 63-71). The impact of loss of children, husbands, fathers or other close family members, the detention of others and loss of property have added to stress in the family. Given the precarious health services and crowded housing conditions in the occupied territory, women confront a general lack of nutrition, health care and proper hygienic standards. Inadequate sanitation, nutrition and rising salinity in the water supply (especially in the Gaza Strip), inadequate access to medical facilities and the high cost of medical care continue to contribute to poor health conditions. Pregnant women

and children were particularly adversely affected by the prolonged curfew and emergency regulations following the aftermath of the Gulf war in 1990/1991. The curfews and worsening economic conditions in the territory have led to a substantial fall in income that has created nutritional problems and iron deficiency anaemia that particularly affect women of reproductive age and children under three years old.

107. The frustrations, emotional deprivation, physical and psychological humiliation, as well as destruction of the paternal image have been found to cause severe psychological stress to Palestinian children and adolescents (United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1993: para. 69). These factors have resulted in a significant increase in psychopathology such as personality disorders and delinquency which, in addition to other personal psychological disturbances, also have had a feedback effect on the entire family. Since it is traditionally the mother who bears important domestic and familial responsibilities, these disturbances place additional stress on her. One prominent form of psychopathology is the increase of physical and verbal forms of violence in young adolescents, manifested by the rise in intransigence and accompanied by depression and loss of sleep, appetite and concentration. With these developments new responsibilities and challenges have devolved on mothers and other family members, who are generally not prepared or able to cope with such behaviour.

B. Changing economic functions and the role of "home economics"

108. Home economics in the occupied territory has meant, in general, self-reliance in the production of food and clothing, and a return to the land. A number of measures have been taken by Palestinians to disengage the economy of the occupied territory from Israel, including (United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1989: 8):

(a) "Shifting away" from consumption of Israeli goods, with a consequent reduction in the living standard of the population;

(b) Initiatives designed to ensure self-sufficiency and strengthen the Palestinian "household economy" by producing meat, fruit and vegetables, and increasing local employment in rural areas, refugee camps and some urban communities;

(c) Creation of local self-help committees to extend health, education, welfare and economic services to the population; creation of alternative employment opportunities for Palestinians who ceased to work in Israel or resigned from their posts in the Israeli civil administration;

(d) A "return-to-agriculture campaign", which stressed the need to cultivate staples, vegetables and fruit that could substitute for Israeli imports.

109. In implementing these initiatives, women's organizations in various cities have worked directly with the people or through popular committees to hold lectures on home economy. They also distributed publications discussing food storage and preservation and care of plants and animals. On the West Bank alone, 36 registered organizations offered literacy programmes,

sewing programmes, and social welfare providing food, clothing and shelter to those in need. The sense of community responsibility has now been extended to neighbours, in the form of growing vegetable gardens and keeping domestic animals to be shared and exchanged with other community members. Almost all Palestinian homes in rural settings maintain a vegetable patch and a few chickens, generally tended by women. Women's responsibilities have now become a symbol of community cooperation.

110. Since the start of the intifada, two main types of cooperatives have been established. The first involves women in productive and income-generating projects outside the home. These cooperatives are run democratically, with women in control of production, management and marketing. A second type encourages a variety of women to produce food at home, while the women's organizations market products and pass profits on to the women themselves. The first type is qualitatively different from the second since its functioning is more truly cooperative and less oriented toward individual profit. Moreover, it helps bring women out of their homes.

111. However, a mechanistic attitude should not, as is sometimes done, be adopted regarding the virtues of women's work outside the house. Thus we read that, "although women's work in the cooperatives (in Beitillo and Sa'ir, respectively Ramallah and Hebron area villages) has added new responsibilities for women, coming in addition to their housework, child-rearing etc., it has played an important role in transforming men's appraisal of women's work in general and housework in particular ... [Women's contribution to the family income and has] led to change in the traditional gender-based division of labour" (Jad, 1990:136). The fact of the matter is that such changes in the traditional division of labour, where they have occurred, have not been accompanied by a public critique of existing rural values. Setting up a women's production cooperative in the countryside does not automatically lead to changes in the gender-based division of labour, nor to an upward re-evaluation by men of women's work or status. Political activists, although they are working women and politically progressive men, continue to suffer from the existing division of labour. There is no congruity between their political or productive work and housework, which continues to be shared among women according to age and class, but not between men and women.

112. The decline in per capita consumption in addition to Israeli governmental budget restrictions on health and agriculture, and the government closure of private and public schools have promoted the independence and separation of the occupied territory from Israel, and the people's self-reliance. In this regard, data concerning local production versus imports from Israel are telling. According to Palestinians responsible for implementing the intifada's programme of achieving agricultural self-reliance, between December 1987 and April 1989 local production of cattle and eggs increased along with cultivated area, while imports of some items from Israel (milk and animal feed) declined. Seventy per cent of the increasing agricultural production has been attributed to home economy programmes supported by small producers. In industry the rise in local versus imported Israeli goods has also been impressive, but with less far-reaching implications, because of the limitations imposed on Palestinian industrial production.

113. There are differences in the economic structures of the West Bank and Gaza Strip which affect the role of women. Women in the West Bank work mostly in agriculture, while in the Gaza Strip their main employment is in professional, technical and related work (53 per cent of the female employment). This reflects the limited opportunities for women outside public service employment in the Gaza Strip. On the West Bank, slightly over one quarter of the economically active women were employed in the public sector and half were employed on the farms. In the Gaza Strip, almost two thirds were employed in the public sector (United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1989: 9). In the Gaza Strip there is also evidence that while males are to some extent employed outside the occupied territory, females do not have this same opportunity (ibid., 1989: 10). There are no data on income differentials by sex in the occupied territory nor on the specific effects of the intifada on the economy and particularly on the employment and income of women and children (ibid., 1989: 10).

114. It is difficult to argue that implementing home economy projects plays a progressive role in changing the status of women, unless accompanied by a change in existing values built on the gender division of labour. The concept of implementing home economy is a qualitatively advanced one, mainly through its connection to the intifada. It has value as a national demand, but there has been no attempt to imbue it with progressive social content. The distinction often made between "productive" and "reproductive" work - that is between measured economic activity and family/household work - seems to make little sense when applied to women's lives in much of the developing world. Their productive work has to be fitted in around their reproductive work and vice versa. This is one reason why women fare so badly in the formal economy - the other (informal) demands on their time make it difficult for them to operate within the rigid confines of a job. A more useful distinction might be made between "visible" and "invisible" work (UNFPA, 1990: 24).

115. Women are not able to put in as many hours on the job as men because their work in and around the home places competing demands on their time. They may be unable to work the hours many employers require, such as shift-work or over-time, and many may be forced to accept badly paid part-time work. In Sri Lanka, for instance, women in the manufacturing industry work an average of 10.5 hours per week less than men. This also makes it much less likely that a woman will be promoted. Only 1.2 per cent of women with jobs in Singapore were employed in managerial positions in 1985, as opposed to 8.2 per cent of a much larger number of employed males (UNFPA, 1990: 25-26).

116. Women are also limited by the jobs they do. Women's work is overwhelmingly concentrated in the so-called "pink-collar" occupations - cleaner, secretary, clerk, nurse, teacher, waitress, textile worker - employing the skills women learn as part of their domestic role. These occupations can be secure and well-paid, but most are paid at much lower rate than the equivalently skilled male "blue-collar" job. Table 3.10 shows that only an average of 8 per cent of the Palestinian wives in the areas studied work outside the home. This is not too different from the average percentages of 11.7 (in the West Bank) and 3.9 (in the Gaza Strip) of the labour force that consist of women. However the statistics in table 3.10 concern only wives and exclude unmarried women.

117. Table 3.11 indicates the reasons for the wife's unemployment. Of the eight different reasons for unemployment, the one that ranks highest is the need to look after the children. Religious and social reasons are highest in Ein Arik, Dehesheh camp, and Husan, 23.8, standing at 44.6, and 23.1 per cent respectively (see table 3.11).

118. Laws promoting women's employment by providing child care for working mothers have often failed because the burden of cost has been put on employers. In half of the 80 developing countries in one study, employers were obliged to contribute some or all of a woman's maternity pay. Creches were usually provided at the expense of the employer. Perhaps for these reasons, employers questioned in Cyprus, Ghana, India, Mauritius, Nigeria, Peru and Sri Lanka said they were unwilling to hire women (UNFPA, 1990: 26).

119. In a survey of four Latin American countries, it was found that women whose youngest child was under the age of one were only half as likely to have jobs as those whose youngest was six years old or more (UNFPA, 1990: 26). The issue of child care is crucial to a woman's job prospects. Its absence may be serious enough to undermine almost all of the potential benefits of extra income. And in the occupied territory, though such care is available on an increasingly wide scale, available data does not indicate that pre-school child care has expanded to meet the needs of working mothers. Tables 3.12 to table 3.14 show that while significant numbers of parents send their children to kindergarten (mostly private or charitable institutions), the motivation was not mainly related to the mothers work outside the house.

120. For women who wish to broaden their current or traditional roles, sometimes even quite minor interventions can have a dramatic effect. The introduction of electrical household equipment can save women so much time that they can expand their trading activities, whether embroidery or sewing at home at piecework rates, or working outside the home at regular jobs. While table 3.15 indicates that many people own a refrigerator, table 3.16 shows that only a few own a deep freeze. If a woman is working it is a help to be able to prepare meals ahead and store them in the deep freeze. Similar help for the working wife comes from owning a washing machine. Table 3.17 shows that 37 per cent of the population surveyed does not own a washing machine. Furthermore, there are no public launderettes anywhere in the West Bank or Gaza. Among Palestinian women a dishwasher is a rarity. Table 3.18 shows an average of only 2 per cent of those surveyed who own a dishwasher. The preparation of most Arabian food necessitates much laborious and time-consuming chopping; hence, using a food processor would save the working housewife a great deal of time. However, an average of 67 per cent of people surveyed do not own a food processor (see table 3.19). If a woman is at work and, for example, one of her children is not well she would like to be able to keep in touch by telephone during the day. Table 3.20 indicates that 75 per cent of the surveyed population do not have telephones. In some villages, e.g. Aboud and Ein Arik, the entire village is unconnected to telephone lines.

121. Most of women's work is in what might be called the "non-money economy". Even when women are working for money, their work tends to be overlooked by statisticians and planners. With so many demands on their time, women are usually doing two, three, even four jobs at once. They can seldom be

classified simply as "stall-holder", "poultry farmer" or "tailor". A market vendor embroidering at a piecework rate may also be growing vegetables and tending chickens. Sooner or later all will go to her stall in the market or into her big basket as street vendor.

122. All the various factors discussed here that restrict women to cheap, unskilled or partly skilled labour represent a massive waste of human and economic resources. Better education and employment at a higher level would reduce the social and economic cost of large families and enable women to make their full contribution to development.

C. Implications of emerging changes

1. Women's rights and the agenda for the future

123. In the Palestinian setting, a radical change in economic relationships may be difficult to achieve in the immediate future. However, the basis of authority of men over women can nonetheless be challenged by transformations in law and education, through the struggle for civil law and equality sanctioned by law, for the exercise of the right of equal inheritance, the right to own, the right to travel freely, and the right to vote, to name only a few pressing demands. Activists and leaders from three of the four women's committees cite as critical clarification of the legal status of women and the introduction of civil legislation alongside the Shari'a (Islamic law). The problem of the gender-based division of labour in the home, child care and housework can also be addressed by calling for publicly-subsidized nurseries, bakeries, restaurants and laundries. Equal opportunity in work is another demand voiced by certain women activists.

124. Guided by the 1988 "Declaration of Independence of the State of Palestine", which proclaims a new Palestinian State based on the principles of "equality and non-discrimination" between men and women, the women's movement could now embark on providing the mainstream and progressive nationalist camps with a critique of the flaws in their conceptions of the status of women, making it clear that the removal of national oppression alone will not solve the problems of women. Radical change in the status of women in Palestinian society is also linked to broader changes in society, especially at the level of the economy. A strategy must therefore be formulated to foster the building of autonomous women's organizations which will participate in the national and class struggles (Giacaman and Johnson, 1990: 168-169).

125. The intifada has been a clear manifestation of popular resistance to the occupation, owing to its continuity and the participation of most classes and sectors of society, of all ages and both genders. Spontaneously, women have gone out to participate in resistance activities. Women's organizations, assuming their vanguard role within the Palestinian women's movement, have organized and directed women's participation with a multi-faceted agenda.

126. The programme was popular, though imprecise. The existing gender division of labour has continued to place women at the lower end of the family hierarchy, even when they worked both inside and outside their homes. This has reflected the continued low level of feminist consciousness within women's organizations and on the part of the Palestinian political leadership. For

example, women have played a crucial political role, even if a "motherly" one, of saving demonstrators from soldiers. The point was reached where it had become dangerous for men to participate in demonstrations or marches in the absence of women.

127. This in turn led to the emergence of a new ideal of women as saviours rather than frail creatures in need of protection. It has weakened traditional values and given women strength, self-confidence and fearlessness in the face of killing, beating and arrest. The new climate has helped the women's vanguard to criticize in public the restrictions placed on women's social life. Will this trend be reflected in a new social agenda for the women's organizations? Or will the process be reversed if and when the confrontations diminish? The answers to these questions depend on women's awareness which has just begun to penetrate the movement's leadership. It depends, ultimately, on whether that leadership manages to formulate an appropriate agenda and communicate it to women on a wide scale (Jad, 1990: 139-140).

2. Changing socio-economic functions

128. With the escalation of the nationalist struggle during the uprising, it is important to emphasize that the presence of a popular feminist consciousness could have been one of the important factors prompting women leaders to demand publicly the articulation of programmes to improve the social conditions of Palestinian women (Abdul Jawwad, 1990: 68). The uprising led to the creation of alternative Palestinian social, economic and political structures. Popular committees were set up to attempt to cope with the needs of the Palestinian population; Palestinian women actively participated in the committees and various associations as a means of meeting the basic educational, economic and relief needs of the Palestinian population. There were instances of harassment of these organizations by the security authorities. The Inaash El-Usra society, serving 15,000 Palestinian women and children, was closed by the authorities, and the offices of the Palestinian Women's Union were invaded and their files confiscated. Many welfare centres, including those that used to organize educational courses for women and young people, had to close because welfare assistance had been frozen by the Israel authorities owing to a drop in tax collection. In many places women organized silent marches and demonstrations to mark International Women's Day on 8 March 1988 (United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1989: 9).

129. By the second year of the uprising, Palestinian men were revealing signs of acceptance concerning the more active role of women in the struggle. Palestinian women have experienced greater levels of social freedom and education than most of their Arab sisters, though their social gains have been checked by their political situation. While social change is a long and complex process, the occupation and the mass resistance to it have clearly helped to quicken the pace of change for Palestinian women (Sosebee, 1990: 89).

130. One characteristic of the life of Palestinian women has been the frequent splitting up of families, and the absence of male family members as a result of detention, expulsion, imprisonment or death. In 1988, according to information provided by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for

Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), some 130,000 refugees were receiving assistance as Special Hardship Cases (SHCs), with over 60 per cent of the families headed by women or elderly persons. Cash grants were given to 1,020 selected SHC families as emergency assistance. Some welfare services focused on vocational education for young people and women in sewing and embroidery, and on programmes for women preparing them to participate in educational, sports, cultural and other recreational activities (United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1989: 11). In the West Bank, 37 per cent of the Palestinian refugee families accounted for by UNRWA were headed by females, while in the Gaza Strip the percentage was 18. This compares with an average of 20 per cent in Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic and Jordan (ibid., 1989: 6). The distribution of male and female heads of families is shown in table 3.21.

131. Relevant statistics concerning the level of education of women have come out of a recent study (Salman, 1990a). The main aim of the survey was to find out how many students who applied to the Business Faculty at Bethlehem University for the year 1990/1991 were males and how many were females. Whether they had a scientific track secondary school certificate or a literary track secondary certificate was also noted. Their first choices among the various faculties were then compared with their second choices, in relation to those certificates. From table 3.22 it is clear that twice as many males as females applied to the Faculty of Business. Ninety two students were accepted, 37 females and 55 males, a ratio of 40 per cent females to 60 per cent males. Table 3.23 shows that a higher percentage of male students who applied to the Business Faculty were from the literary track.

132. It is interesting to note the shift in the choice of major areas of study for female students applying to the University. Tables 3.24 and 3.25 reveal that females were not applying to the Education Faculty even as their second choice of major. The choice of Hotel Management was also limited, with females making this choice much less frequently than males. Nursing as a first or second choice was negligible. Many were applying to the Business Faculty as both first and second choice.

133. Another survey (Salman, 1990b) studied graduates from the Business Faculty from 1977 to 1990 in the Bachelor Degree Programme, and from 1982 to 1990 in the Associate Degree Programme (see table 3.26 and table 3.27). Of the total 337 graduates, 79 were females, i.e. 23 per cent. As mentioned earlier, in the academic year 1990-1991, some 92 students were accepted by the Business Faculty - 37 females and 55 males - a ratio of 40 per cent females to 60 per cent males. In choosing students for admission to the Business Faculty, gender had not been considered. The resulting 40:60 ratio was pointed out to the University Administration, and a decision was made to try to maintain that proportion, but aim for a future goal of a 50-50 ratio between male and female students.

134. A related survey examined how many female students in the Business Faculty at Bethlehem University were working during the October 1990 session, i.e. after three years of university closure, and how long they had been working (Salman, 1990c). The survey covered 73 per cent of the Business Faculty students. Table 3.28 shows that about 22 per cent of the students were working and that 70 per cent had been working for more than one year.

Fifty per cent were working in jobs related to their major field of study, and 50 per cent were either teachers or nurses. Moreover 90 per cent were working full time but still studying. This appears to reflect poor economic conditions in that students preferred to work and carry a lighter study load in order to keep their jobs secure because of the present high unemployment rate.

135. Another recent survey looked at the motivation of students to study Business Administration, and to work in business after graduation (Salman, 1990d). The survey was conducted at Bethlehem University in November 1990; it included 40 female business students and 74 male business students. The findings presented here are for the women students only. Table 3.29 shows that while women students came from cities and towns as well as villages as far away as Zababdeh in the Jenin area, the majority of students were from nearby urban areas. Table 3.30 indicates that the majority of the female students' fathers were not involved directly in business; none the less the women chose business as their major course of study. Table 3.31 further reveals that 52 per cent of their mothers were not working. While 17 per cent considered their mothers to be housewives, the total unemployed reached 70 per cent; despite this the daughters were pursuing business studies. Twenty per cent of the mothers were in the teaching profession, while only 10 per cent performed business-related jobs. Table 3.32 shows that 35 per cent of women students studying business had a relative or relatives who had studied business. Since only two students had older relatives who studied business, clearly the younger generation was studying business and this includes female members.

136. A large percentage of respondents were confident that Palestinian women with qualifications in economics and business management could achieve positions in business (Salman, 1990d). The response to another question revealed how the family would react if the student (or a female member of the family) got a position in business. The findings indicate that 95 per cent of the women students believed their parents would be supportive, while only 5 per cent thought they would be indifferent. Not one student thought that her parents would try to prevent her from going into business. This implies not only a greater degree of autonomy among Palestinian women, but an increasing acceptance of such change on the part of older generations.

137 When asked whether they believed that Palestinian women were courageous and tough enough to establish businesses of their own, 27 per cent of the respondants to this survey answered that many would while 73 per cent answered that only some would. When asked if they knew any Palestinian women who had managed to establish businesses of their own, 75 per cent did not know of any such women, but 25 per cent did. When asked what type of business the women had established, from 15 responses, the following emerged:

Clothing shop - Boutique	2	Shop owner	6
Selling clothes at home	1	Shoe shop	1
Dressmaker	1	Export and import office	1
Beauty salon	1	Private school	1
Pharmacy	1		

138. These findings suggest that some women have been moving into the business world, albeit very slowly. While the type of business which they conduct is simple, this is expected to change in the future. The main conclusion which can be drawn is that the university students surveyed were optimistic concerning women's possibilities within business management.

3. Social behaviour

139. During the uprising, women, and particularly those not already organizationally identified with a political movement or group, enlarged or extended their traditional role, rather than adopting a new one. Many forms of political participation open to women are based on extensions of their domestic role, particularly defense of family, nurturing and assisting family members, and mutually aiding kin. These aspects of women's role have become a source of resistance because women have redefined their family responsibilities to encompass the entire community. In a real sense, particularly in villages and refugee camps where the community is closely bound together, the community has become the family in this time of sustained crisis (Giacaman and Johnson, 1990: 161).

140. The shift in focus beyond family to community has broken one major barrier for many women: the barrier of shame tied to family restrictions on the movement of women. This critical transformation is evidenced by the participation (and even leadership) of unmarried women in mixed settings, whether in demonstrations or neighbourhood committees. Such participation is made easier when the community is close-knit, as in villages. Still, although some women find that their families (and especially their fathers) are proud of their new political activism, others still encounter conflict with their parents over political participation (Giacaman and Johnson, 1990: 162).

141. The Palestinian population in the period under review has continued to face an acute housing shortage. The most recent statistics show that the average housing density is three persons per room; nearly half the population live in overcrowded conditions, with seven or more persons to a dwelling. Obstacles to the granting of building permits, combined with the systematic demolition or sealing of the houses of suspected persons, has increased these difficulties (United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1989: 11).

142. During the intifada, the Palestinians had to survive at subsistence level. This left even less room than before for luxuries or social trimmings. Traditional marriage dowries were reduced to a minimum; all public celebrations were curtailed if not altogether eliminated. Feasts were limited only to religious rites, while weddings and other social festive occasions became modest and private affairs (Ashrawi, 1990: 79).

143. For the majority of Palestinian women, the time when a woman's place was only in the home is long past. This is not to discount the impact that highly conservative religious trends have had on Palestinian society; there is no denying that groups which espoused traditional ideas became more popular during the intifada. However, women in the West Bank and Gaza have been occupying roles in society and through the intifada which are often contrary to the strict views of women's roles held by these groups. The secular Palestinian women's organizations and committees are well-organized, have

large memberships, and successfully unite women from all sectors of Palestinian society, even the traditionally conservative segments, around the cause of resisting the occupation (Sosebee, 1990: 83).

144. Perhaps, the most critical social change achieved since 1987 has been the transfer of primary loyalties from the family and the clan to wider society. Family solidarity has given way to communal solidarity. These new social relationships have been institutionalized in grass-roots organizations and popular committees serving as new social units of support. Without these changes, the family itself might not have been able to survive intact the increased pressures of the intifada. The all-important question of whether women's political role in the uprising will lead to a lasting change in women's participation and status in society will be ultimately answered by Palestinian women themselves, through their persistent efforts to participate in the Palestinian national struggle and in provision of needed social services.

4. Ideas and actions advanced by local women's groups

145. The emerging role of women in the intifada and the increasing recognition of the gender agenda as a significant factor in the struggle for national independence have gradually begun to create a feminist perspective which had been noticeably absent in Palestinian culture. Leaflets, magazines, and one-time publications for women have become familiar expressions of the gender issue forming an integral component of the political struggle for freedom and independence. The grass-roots work and organizational significance of the women's committees in the social and economic transformation of society (in addition to their overtly political activities) has bestowed on the women's movement credibility and legitimacy which, in some areas of the West Bank and especially among urban intellectuals, have made the articulation of feminist theory acceptable, and even desirable. The formation of the Higher Council for Women, which was formally announced on 15 November 1988, has altered the work of women's committees both as an expression of national unity and as a reorientation toward a consciously more feminist analysis and discourse (see Ashrawi, 1990:81-83).

146. In terms of changing economic functions, the executive committee of the Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees (PFWAC) is made up of representatives from all of the committees which, in turn, represent five different sections: kindergarten, production, health, literacy and foreign relations. A resource centre and research unit had been established recently and it was in the process of becoming the sixth section in the executive committee.

147. The PFWAC runs 33 kindergartens and 30 nursery schools in the occupied territory, employing more than 60 certified women teachers and serving over 1,500 children. The PFWAC runs three clinics in Ramallah which emphasize health education. They run primary health care projects. The production projects of the Federation are an example of various attempts to develop independent economic activities by the Palestinians. Such productive projects include a baby food project in Al-Ram, a biscuit project in Absan, Gaza Strip, a sewing project in Ramallah, an enamel and brass project in east Jerusalem, and a dairy project in Khan Younis, Gaza.

148. There have been efforts towards increased economic autonomy by Palestinian women apart from the established committees in the PWFAC. One such project started in 1987 in the West Bank villages of Betillo and Saer (Al Fajr, 6 September 1987). The main objective was to establish a women's cooperative based on production and marketing of local foods. With assistance from UNRWA and European non-governmental organizations, the cooperatives experienced successful growth, in part due to the intifada and increased efforts by Palestinians to use their own products. The cooperatives in each village had from 18 to 20 members, mostly married women from peasant backgrounds whose husbands worked in Israel. At first the village men were opposed to the project but after four years their attitude had changed. The self-perception of women, their status within the household and the community, and their social and political awareness has been greatly enhanced by participation in the cooperative.

149. In 1950, the Mennonite Central Committee set up the, now-autonomous, Surif Women's Embroidery Cooperative in the West Bank. By 1986, the cooperative had established economic self-sufficiency for many of the village women while also providing motivation and a model for other women to emulate. The Surif Women's Embroidery Cooperative is now a 300-member profit-sharing organization (Sosebee, 1990: 90-91).

150. A conference dealing with women under the intifada was held by the Nisan Centre - Committee for Women's Study, in December 1990; most of the women's organizations participated in the one-day seminar. A range of ideas, all reiterating and corroborating existing ideas, were advanced by the women's organizations. The following issues were identified as the real problems inhibiting the role of Palestinian women under occupation:

(a) Women's role today was increasingly to substitute for imprisoned males. The intifada was divided into two phases with respect to the participation of women. In the first phase, women were very active politically; in the second phase, women were not participating as before because of the burden of looking after the family after the imprisonment or death of husbands and sons. Home economics had also increased the burden of women;

(b) Many more girls were leaving schools during the intifada;

(c) Many more girls were getting married at a very early age (14 to 15 years); and

(d) Women's role in political struggle had not,in most cases, led to positions of leadership.

151. Yet, in other ways, the conference found that the role of Palestinian women has been enhanced and has become more significant during the intifada:

(a) Since the intifada, men have accorded greater recognition to women's roles. For example, a prominent local community leader, Mr. Faisal Husseini, said: "women's role should not be looked at as secondary or peripheral. We cannot achieve victory if the woman does not take her place. We should make

the transition not only on the political level but also on the cultural. And this new role should include the women";

(b) "Giving the right role to the right person", would be achieved if women's struggle in the intifada also included explicit efforts to raise issues related to their social position, especially since such struggle has effectively promoted their social status; and,

(c) Behind every successful working woman is an understanding and loving husband. Husbands are coming to understand and help their wives in their careers. To be sure, not all husbands have yet developed this attitude, but the trend is evident.

152. The consensus of the conference was that women's committees and groups should take the following action:

(a) Train women in professions that can help them share in building the economic infrastructure of a future state;

(b) Encourage women to work outside the home;

(c) Study the Labour Law and add relevant sections to protect women;

(d) Start dialogues with men since they must become aware of women's issues and;

(e) Unite committees and coordinate their activities.

Chapter IV

AREAS REQUIRING IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION AND ACTION

153. This study has examined the main features of, and constraints inhibiting, the involvement of Palestinian women in economic activity. While the coverage and analysis of issues are hampered by the dearth of relevant information, especially statistical data, an attempt has been made to identify some of the major problems and constraints that have prevented Palestinian women from defining their role and actively participating in economic and social activities. This concluding chapter presents some broad general areas and related feasible measures aimed at assisting Palestinian women to assume their effective role.

154. At the outset, it is important that all projects and programmes for women be viewed in a comprehensive and coordinated manner as forming part of a forward-looking concept of "overall development". One problem currently affecting Palestinian women's activities is that a variety of international non-governmental organizations are funding various women's groups, often resulting in duplication of efforts. To overcome the lack of coordination, not only between local groups and international NGOs, but among NGOs themselves, a directory detailing the nature of work of all development agencies should be prepared, preferably by local and international NGOs, and circulated in the West Bank and Gaza so that people would know whom to address for a specific type of help. At the same time, agencies could devise a system whereby they would circulate among themselves the projects approved and the designated beneficiaries as a means to avoid further duplication.

155. In view of the dearth of information on the role of Palestinian women, better statistical tools of analysis to measure the participation of women in active economic life are urgently needed. Statistical bases covering different aspects of women's participation in economic and social sectors are particularly needed, as is training in gender-specific data collection and in handling information systems. A centre for the collection of data on women's issues has recently been established in Jerusalem, but more training should be undertaken to develop greater awareness of gender-specific data collection and analysis. Making the findings available to planners, decision-makers and women's associations is of major importance. Gender-specific data would allow project designers to identify the activities to be carried out by men and women beneficiaries and to assess the potential benefits accruing to each. An important obstacle to the collection and analysis of such data is cost. Accordingly, it is important to develop low cost data collection methods while maintaining high reliability.

156. There is an urgent need to assist in creating income-generating activities for Palestinian women, whenever possible. One area where this could be achieved is in professions where women can share in building the institutional infrastructure. For this they would need access to applications of technology, along with relevant training in all aspects of the economy, not just in occupations and tasks traditionally viewed as the women's domain or "pink collar" work. Local Palestinian institutions could play a cardinal role in this process with minimum help from the international community.

157. There is no indication that women's participation in decision-making has increased despite their experience in the popular committees; any discernible increase has been rather a result of political affiliation and has remained within the confines of the existing political balance. Palestinian women in the occupied territory are clearly not in possession of such instruments of power as wealth, control of institutions or legal authority that might allow them to hold positions bearing on decision-making. Even with the dramatic rise in the education standard of women, they are still many steps behind men; decision-making remains predominantly in the male domain. This age-old attitude is in need of radical reform before women are further integrated into the political arena, and enabled to participate actively in the process of decision-making at various levels of their society.

158. Women are not able to devote as many hours as men to outside activities because their work in and around the home makes competing demands on their time. As a result, they are unable to work as many hours as certain employers may require, for example doing shift-work or over-time; hence many may be forced to accept badly paid part-time work. Women are also constrained by the type of jobs they undertake, that is, they are overwhelmingly concentrated in "pink-collar" occupations, as cleaners, secretaries, clerks, nurses, teachers, waitresses, textile workers - employing the skills women acquire as part of their domestic role. These occupations can be secure and well-paid, but most are paid at much lower rate than the equivalently skilled male "blue-collar" job. These aspects of employment for women need to be seriously examined in order to assure the optimum absorption of women in economic and social activities.

159. Similarly, to improve the participation of women in economic activities, training should be started and steps taken to encourage women to work outside their immediate home environment. This could be achieved by upgrading the social welfare services. The lack of opportunity for pre-school education stands as another obstacle to women seeking to participate in social and economic activities. If the mother of several young children contemplates working, she may find that the fees for pre-school attendance for the children are greater than the amount she might earn. This lack of opportunity for pre-school education inhibits the participation of women in social and economic development. Thus, there is great need for national institutions to make available both pre-school and child care centres to the population at large and not only to certain social and economic classes. In addition, child care should be a standard feature of workplaces on the same basis as other essential facilities.

160. Another obstacle to women's full participation in the economic domain is the general lack of homes for the elderly. Most women in the household are responsible for members of their immediate family as well as in-laws. If the woman works outside the home, there is no one to care for the elderly. With more people living beyond retirement age, this problem is aggravated. One solution would be to raise funds for setting up day-care centres for old people, men and women alike, where they could have a hot meal, spend time with others of their own age, and participate, within their capacity, in the activities of the centre. Another possibility to explore would be welfare centres, employing qualified women to care for old and disabled persons for several hours per day.

161. According to the report of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (1989: 11), a number of United Nations bodies and specialized agencies provide assistance to the Palestinian people, including special programmes of assistance for Palestinian women and children in the occupied Palestinian territories, mostly directed to the refugee population. The following paragraphs provide a brief account of the nature of needs and the direction of assistance received, especially during the early years of the uprising.

162. UNRWA, as noted earlier, has continued to provide both regular and emergency programmes, the latter being particularly important. Food supplies and cash were provided to refugees and to a small number of non-refugees in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank. Additional and temporary personnel in the fields of health, relief and refugee affairs were employed to assist in the distribution of aid and to counsel families in distress. Assistance was also provided to help special hardship cases, consisting of dry food rations, clothing and cash allowances. Children from families in distress were given preferential admission to training centres. Help was given to selected families in order to enable them to establish small enterprises.

163. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) directed its assistance through UNRWA, concentrating on immunization and vaccination, as well as on technical assistance for training and the improvement of infrastructure. UNICEF provided technical assistance to local health departments in order to develop the traditional birth attendants (TBA) training programme and funded the training of mid-wives (supervisors) and TBAs in the West Bank. It also assisted in training kindergarten teachers, and upgrading facilities in kindergartens. In cooperation with other international agencies and the communities concerned, UNICEF also helped to reduce the incidence of water-related diseases in 25 villages in the northern part of the West Bank, and the southern part of the Gaza Strip.

164. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) identified for partial and full financing several United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) projects in vocational training for women. UNDP implemented two projects in the field of employment and development, namely: the "Youth programme" and "Women's institutions". A project entitled "Women's institute" will establish a centre providing technical and specialized training for women in various fields, and will serve as a permanent exhibition to promote and market traditional and new products of small-scale industries operated by charitable organizations.

165. The World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) has provided assistance in particular to women and children, covering primary health care, environmental health, and the training and education of health personnel. Two centres were designated as WHO Collaborating Centres in primary health care research, one of which placed special emphasis on the monitoring and evaluation of an expanded primary health care programme, the evaluation and supervision of the work of mid-wives and a review of infant and child mortality.

166. An international NGO, the Cooperative Development Project (CDP) held a two-day workshop on marketing skills in early 1990. It dealt with marketing concepts, identifying consumer needs, and quality-control issues. The participants included women's organizations and societies dealing with

production. In the follow-up for participants some were reported to have benefited from that workshop. Another seminar sponsored by CDP in 1990 focused on the role of Palestinian women in economic production and development. The seminar was attended by over 30 participants from women's groups, production societies and NGOs. Many of those attending had been also present at the marketing workshop. The following issues were highlighted by the seminar:

(a) There was a specific need for training among various institutions involved in productive projects and other economic activities;

(b) Some differences remained among the various women's groups, for example regarding the benefits of promoting cooperative or institutional initiatives as opposed to individual businesses;

(c) Business expertise was generally lacking among participants;

(d) There was particular lack of familiarity with the overall business environment; and

(e) There was need to identify resources in support of women's economic activities.

167. The seminar also found that these areas required immediate intervention from both local groups and the international community, including development agencies. These areas should be further studied by all groups involved and in order to overcome lack of coordination between local and international NGOs as well as among local NGOs answers needed to be provided to the following questions:

(a) What types of training were needed for women and in what areas?

(b) What were the priorities for formal training?

(c) What kinds of technical assistance were needed?

(d) What kind of institutions could meet the technical-assistance and resource needs of the spectrum of women's organizations and private entrepreneurs alike?

(e) How can the identification of, and access to, domestic resources for the development of women's economic programmes be maximized?

168. Bearing in mind the above experience of the international organizations and the nature and magnitude of needs, international aid agencies, in collaboration with the relevant Palestinian institutions, would need to intensify their assistance in formulating programmes that promote the advancement of women, and support women's voluntary organizations in attaining their economic and social aims. To enable women to perform their tasks satisfactorily, their technical capabilities would need to be strengthened. The international community could further assist by providing relevant training to Palestinian women, in cooperation with existing Palestinian institutions. It is important to demonstrate that projects which deal with

issues of concern to women can be as successful as projects in any other walk of life. While research on the formulation of policies and design of projects sensitive to women's needs will have to be carried out at the local level by Palestinian women's organizations, the international community could assist in the development and implementation of inexpensive and reliable methodologies for data collection and processing. NGOs could play a crucial role in synthesising and disseminating research findings, especially through seminars, expert meetings and technical assistance activities (c.f. "Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the year 2000", op. cit.).

169. The international community could also provide assistance in the training of trainers. The UNDP sponsored Business Development Centre and other Palestinian business-training institutions could play a vital role, not only regarding the substance of issues pertaining to women but also in the teaching of techniques, methods and preparation of materials. Among important teaching materials that international agencies could help provide would be information on projects that have proved successful elsewhere in the mobilization of women in socio-economic activities (ibid.).

170. The United Nations organizations involved in promoting development in the occupied territory should incorporate gender-analysis into both their policy formulation and their project design and implementation. In particular, they should consider whether more emphasis at the policy level should be put on activities targeted to specific underprivileged groups which often include women, particularly those living in rural areas. Moreover, because of the lack of a well-established Palestinian institutional mechanism to address women's concerns, organizations of the United Nations system should differentiate their activities at the grass-roots level from their traditional technical cooperation activities. To this end, operational arrangements, particularly at the grass-roots level, need to be kept as decentralized, simple and flexible as possible.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Number of girls attending school, 1914-1944

Table 1.2 Number of girls in teacher training and secondary classes

Table 2.1 Annual growth rate of population in the occupied territory, 1968-1988

Table 2.2 Distribution of Palestinians by age: 1968-1988

Table 2.3 Population aged 14 and over by sex: 1968-1988

Table 2.4 Population aged 14 and over by labour-force characteristics, 1968-1988

Table 2.5 Women as a proportion of the labour force

Table 2.6 Growth of enrolment, male and female, in educational institutions, 1967/68 - 1987/88

Table 2.7 Enrolment in community colleges and health centres, 1985-1986

Table 2.8 Educational level, male and female, aged 18-24, 1983

Table 2.9 Female participation rate in university enrolment, 1985/1986

Table 2.10 Percentage of students from the same or nearby locality in each university, 1986-1987

Table 2.11 Charitable organizations in the West Bank, 1983

Table 2.12 Enrolment in technical fields in community colleges, 1987

Table 2.13 First visits of infants to clinics, 1975-1978, 1980

Table 2.14 Secondary level enrolment ratios, 1987-1988

Table 2.15 Pre-school enrolment, 1987-1988

Table 3.1 Purchaser of basic daily needs for family, 1989/1990

Table 3.2 Decision maker for buying major household equipment, 1989/1990

Table 3.3 Method of choosing wife, 1989/1990

Table 3.4 Relation of wife to husband prior to marriage, 1989/1990

Table 3.5 Age of husband and wife at time of marriage, 1989/1990

Table 3.6 Number of children born alive or born dead, 1989/1990

Table 3.7 Medical care for mothers prior to delivery, 1989/1990

Table 3.8 Medical care for mothers after delivery, 1989/1990

Table 3.9 Self-reliance in agriculture, December 1987 to April 1989

Table 3.10 Wives who work, 1989/1990

Table 3.11 Main reason for wife's unemployment, 1989/1990

Table 3.12 Children who go to kindergarten/nursery, 1989/1990

Table 3.13 Institutional affiliation of the kindergarten, 1989/1990

Table 3.14 *Reasons for sending children to kindergarten, 1989/1990*

Table 3.15 Ownership of a refrigerator, 1989/1990

Table 3.16 Ownership of a separate freezer, 1989/1990

Table 3.17 Ownership of a washing machine, 1989/1990

Table 3.18 Ownership of a dishwasher, 1989/1990

Table 3.19 Ownership of a food processor, 1989/1990

Table 3.20 Telephone subscriber, 1989/1990

Table 3.21 Distribution by sex of heads of Palestinian families, inside and outside the occupied territory, 1988

Table 3.22 Distribution of applicants to the Faculty of Business, Bethlehem University, by sex, 1990

Table 3.23 Distribution of applicants to the Faculty of Business, Bethlehem University, by sex and secondary school certificate, 1990

Table 3.24 Distribution of applicants to the Faculty of Business, Bethlehem University, by first choice of area of study and by sex, 1990

Table 3.25 Distribution of applicants to the Faculty of Business, Bethlehem University, by second choice of area of study and by sex, 1990

Table 3.26 Distribution of graduates with Bachelor in Business Administration from Bethlehem University, by sex, 1977-1990

Table 3.27 Distribution of graduates with Associate Degrees in Business Administration from Bethlehem University, by sex, 1982-1990

Table 3.28 Bethlehem University: number of female students working, 1990

Table 3.29 Bethlehem University women students: place of residence, 1990

Table 3.30 Bethlehem University women students: father's occupation, 1990

Table 3.31 Bethlehem University women students: mother's occupation if working, 1990

Table 3.32 Bethlehem University women students: family members studying business or economics, 1990

Table 3.33 Bethlehem University women students: family reaction if a female member reached a position in business, 1990

Table 3.34 Bethlehem University women students: ability of Palestinian women to establish businesses of their own, 1990

Table 3.35 Bethlehem University women students: Palestinian women who have established a business, 1990

Table 1.1
Number of girls attending school, 1914-1944

Year	Number of girls
1914	1 611
1925	3 591
1931	4 942
1935	9 712
1944	15 303

Source: Zureik, 1980:153.

Table 1.2
Number of girls in teacher training and secondary classes

Year	Teacher training	Number	Secondary I and II	Number
1925	Urban	54	No data available	
1935	Urban	94	Secondary Education	33
	Rural	13		
1944	Urban	100	Secondary Education	161
	Rural	34		

Source: Tibawi, 1956:53.

Table 2.1
Annual growth rate of population in the occupied territory
(including East Jerusalem), 1968-1988
(percentage)

Year	Gaza		West Bank		East Jerusalem	Total
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	
1968	-4.3	-4.1	-1.1	-1.2	...	-9.0
1969	-2.3	-2.6	1.0	0.7	...	-0.3
1970	1.8	1.7	2.1	2.0	...	2.0
1971	2.0	2.1	2.0	1.8	...	2.0
1972	2.3	1.9	2.1	2.4	...	10.6
1973	3.0	2.4	2.4	2.1	...	-5.2
1974	3.4	3.6	2.8	2.5	...	12.0
1975	2.9	3.0	1.7	1.7	3.1	2.3
1976	2.8	2.5	1.0	0.9	4.4	1.9
1977	2.9	2.7	1.5	1.5	3.4	2.2
1978	2.9	2.7	1.8	1.8	3.4	2.3
1979	-0.7	-0.8	1.6	1.8	1.3	0.8
1980	-0.7	-0.8	1.1	1.3	3.6	0.7
1981	2.7	2.6	0.9	1.1	2.4	1.7
1982	2.3	2.1	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.0
1983	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.6	3.7	2.7
1984	3.4	3.2	2.9	2.9	3.4	3.1
1985	3.2	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.8	3.0
1986	3.4	3.2	2.8	2.4	2.2	2.9
1987	3.6	3.4	3.2	2.8	2.8	3.3
1988	4.0	5.9	3.4	4.7	...	...

Source: UNCTAD Statistical series, 1991: Table DM/V/2A.

Table 2.2
Distribution of Palestinians by age: 1968-1988
(thousands)

Year	Total population	Males per 1 000 females	Aged 14 and over	Below 14 years	Percentage under 14
			West Bank		
1968	584.5	987	308.6	275.9	47
1969	590.5	994	313.7	276.8	47
1970	602.8	958	322.9	279.9	46
1971	615.2	1 000	330.0	285.2	46
1972	628.0	993	336.6	291.4	46
1973	642.9	999	341.6	301.3	47
1974	661.0	1 004	355.2	305.8	46
1975	672.4	1 004	366.9	305.5	45
1976	679.2	1 006	371.0	308.2	45
1977	689.5	1 005	379.4	310.1	45
1978	701.8	1 006	389.7	312.1	44
1979	713.3	1 007	398.6	314.7	44
1980	721.4	998	401.0	320.4	44
1981	728.0	994	402.9	325.1	45
1982	741.0	990	405.9	335.1	45
1983	760.5	991	420.7	339.8	45
1984	782.5	991	436.3	346.2	44
1985	804.4	994	443.8	360.6	45
1986	826.6	1 000	441.8	384.8	47
1987	852.9	1 007	455.8	397.1	47
1988	881.5	1 012	459.1	422.4	48
			Gaza		
1968	368.8	939	182.6	186.2	50
1969	360.3	945	189.0	171.3	48
1970	366.9	947	196.8	170.1	46
1971	374.4	947	200.7	173.7	46
1972	382.9	954	205.1	177.8	46
1973	394.3	964	210.4	183.9	47
1974	407.8	968	218.6	189.2	46
1975	419.8	967	225.0	194.8	46
1976	431.4	973	231.5	199.9	46
1977	444.1	977	239.5	204.6	46
1978	456.9	980	249.8	207.1	45
1979	453.8	983	243.0	210.8	46
1980	450.6	986	242.7	207.9	46
1981	462.7	986	247.1	215.6	47
1982	473.4	990	246.4	227.0	48
1983	485.9	994	261.6	224.3	46
1984	502.2	996	264.9	237.3	47
1985	518.4	1 001	278.8	239.6	46
1986	536.0	1 004	276.5	259.5	48
1987	555.3	1 008	282.6	272.7	49
1988	577.3	1 009	291.9	285.4	49

Source: UNCTAD Statistical series, 1991: Table DM/V/2A; Table LM/I/1A; Table LA/II/1A.

Table 2.3
Population aged 14 and over by sex: 1968-1988
(thousands)

	West Bank			Gaza		
Year	Total	Females	Males	Total	Females	Males
1968	308.6	167.1	141.5	182.6	102.7	79.9
1969	313.7	165.1	148.6	189.0	103.2	85.8
1970	322.9	169.2	153.7	196.8	106.4	90.4
1971	330.0	172.3	157.7	200.7	108.3	92.4
1972	336.6	175.2	161.4	205.1	110.9	94.2
1973	341.6	178.8	162.8	210.4	112.9	97.5
1974	355.2	185.0	170.2	218.6	116.3	102.3
1975	366.9	189.7	177.2	225.0	120.2	104.8
1976	371.0	192.1	178.9	231.5	123.1	108.4
1977	379.4	196.1	183.3	239.5	126.7	112.8
1978	389.7	201.2	188.5	249.8	131.4	118.4
1979	398.6	205.5	193.1	243.0	127.4	115.6
1980	401.0	207.7	193.3	242.7	126.9	115.8
1981	402.9	209.4	193.5	247.1	129.0	118.1
1982	405.9	211.7	194.2	246.4	128.0	118.4
1983	420.7	217.2	203.5	261.6	135.9	125.7
1984	436.3	224.3	212.0	264.9	137.6	127.3
1985	443.8	228.7	215.1	278.8	144.5	134.3
1986	441.8	228.3	213.5	276.5	142.3	134.2
1987	455.8	234.5	221.3	282.6	145.6	137.0
1988	459.1	235.9	223.2	291.9	150.4	141.5

Source: UNCTAD Statistical series, 1991: Table LA/I/1A; Table LA/II/1A.

Table 2.4

Population aged 14 and over by labour-force characteristics (1968-1988)
(thousands)

Year	Total aged 14 and over	Total labour	Females aged 14 and over	Female labour	Female labour Crude activity rate	Male labour (percent)
			West Bank			
1968	308.6	93.0	167.1	13.8	8.3	56.0
1969	313.7	114.6	165.1	22.2	13.4	62.2
1970	322.9	118.4	169.2	24.0	14.2	61.4
1971	330.0	119.7	172.3	21.9	12.7	62.0
1972	336.6	126.6	175.2	19.3	11.0	66.5
1973	341.6	127.7	178.8	19.3	10.8	66.6
1974	355.2	139.0	185.0	26.5	14.3	66.1
1975	366.9	133.9	189.7	24.3	12.8	61.9
1976	371.0	131.3	192.1	24.5	12.8	59.7
1977	379.4	128.8	196.1	23.6	12.0	57.4
1978	389.7	132.8	201.2	25.7	12.8	56.8
1979	398.6	134.1	205.5	24.2	11.8	56.9
1980	401.0	137.2	207.7	25.7	12.4	57.7
1981	402.9	135.3	209.4	23.5	11.2	57.8
1982	405.9	142.8	211.7	26.2	12.4	60.0
1983	420.7	150.2	217.2	23.8	11.0	62.1
1984	436.3	160.0	224.3	25.0	11.1	63.7
1985	443.8	159.2	228.7	21.7	9.5	63.9
1986	441.9	172.2	228.3	24.6	10.8	69.1
1987	455.8	182.2	234.5	22.3	9.5	72.3
1988	459.1	188.1	235.9	24.5	10.4	73.3
			Gaza			
1968	182.6	53.6	102.7	6.6	6.4	58.8
1969	189.0	58.2	103.2	5.1	4.9	61.9
1970	196.8	62.4	106.4	5.4	5.1	63.1
1971	200.7	61.8	108.3	4.8	4.4	61.7
1972	205.1	64.6	110.9	4.3	3.9	64.0
1973	210.4	68.6	112.9	4.5	4.0	65.7
1974	218.6	73.5	116.3	5.3	4.6	66.7
1975	225.0	72.7	120.2	5.0	4.2	64.6
1976	231.5	76.3	123.1	5.2	4.2	65.6
1977	239.5	77.3	126.7	5.1	4.0	64.0
1978	249.8	80.8	131.4	4.9	3.7	64.1
1979	243.0	79.8	127.4	4.5	3.5	65.1
1980	242.7	81.3	126.9	5.5	4.3	65.5
1981	247.1	82.8	129.0	4.9	3.8	66.0
1982	246.4	82.4	128.0	4.2	3.3	66.0
1983	261.6	85.8	135.9	5.1	3.8	64.2
1984	264.9	88.0	137.6	4.6	3.3	65.5
1985	278.8	92.0	144.5	4.2	2.9	65.4
1986	276.5	95.1	142.3	4.4	3.1	67.6
1987	282.6	101.7	145.6	4.3	3.0	71.1
1988	291.9	101.2	150.4	3.6	2.4	69.0

Source: UNCTAD Statistical Series, 1991: Table LA/I/1A.

Table 2.5
Women as a proportion of the labour force

Sectors and regions	Percentage
World	31
High income	36
Latin America	24
North Africa	14
East Asia	37
South and West Asia	25

Source: Shultz, 1990: 472.

Table 2.6
Growth of enrolment, male and female, in educational institutions
1967/1968-1987/1988

	1967/1968	1987/1988	Growth index (1967/1968=100)
Pre-school	3 850	29 418	764.1
Primary	162 051	315 985	194.9
Preparatory	40 177	116 394	289.7
Secondary general	15 606	60 424	387.2
Indust./Comm./Agr.	1 226	4 862	397.0
Community colleges	600	6 559	1 093.0
Universities	--	14 897	--
Total	223 510	584 539	236.5

Source: UNESCO, March 1990: 12.

Table 2.7
Enrolment in community colleges and health centres, 1985-1986

Field	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Health fields	634	362	996	15.8
Community colleges	(151)	(51)	(202)	
Health centres	(483)	(311)	(794)	
Commerce/administr.	870	707	1 577	25.0
Technical fields	671	23	694	11.0
Teacher training	1 846	1 187	3 033	48.2
Total	4 021	1 187	6 300	100.0
Total excluding health centres			5 506	

Source: UNESCO, March 1990: 48.

Table 2.8
Educational level, male and female, aged 18-24, 1983

Level of education	Females Percentage	Males Percentage
Illiterate	7.5	1.0
Elementary school	31.0	17.0
Preparatory school	14.0	16.0
Secondary school	34.0	43.0
Post-secondary	13.5	23.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Benvenisti, 1986: 69.

Table 2.9
Female participation rate in university enrolment, 1985/1986

University	Females (per cent of total enrolment)
Gaza	34.7
Al-Najah	41.9
Bir Zeit	32.0
Bethlehem	43.0
Hebron	37.6
Jerusalem	56.8
Average percentage	39.0

Source: UNESCO, March 1990: 58

Table 2.10
Percentage of students from the same or nearby locality in each university, 1986-1987

University	Same locality	Nearby locality	Total
Gaza	100.0	-	100.0
Al-Najah	24.4	45.0	87.4
Bir Zeit	29.2	12.8	42.0
Bethlehem	37.6	42.3	79.9
Hebron	60.9	5.1	66.0
Jerusalem	38.5	21.3	59.8

Source: UNESCO, March 1990: 59.

Table 2.11
Charitable organizations in the West Bank, 1983

District	Number of organizations	Number of institutions	Number of beneficiaries
Hebron	33	127	24 792
Bethlehem	42	89	9 977
Jericho	4	-	-
Ramallah	35	56	9 570
Nablus	20	46	15 262
Jenin	18	65	5 580
Tulkarm	14	45	3 244
Total	166	428	68 425

Source: Benvenisti, 1986: 162.

Table 2.12
Enrolment in technical fields in community colleges, 1987

Field	Female	Male	Total
1. Civil engineering	-	182	182
2. Architecture	17	196	213
3. Mechanical engineering	-	130	130
4. Electrical engineering	-	108	108
5. Agricultural mechanics	-	22	22
6. Pottery and coloured glass	6	33	39
Total	23	671	694
Percentage	3.3	96.7	100

Source: UNESCO, March 1990: 47.

Table 2.13
First visits of infants to clinics, 1975-1978, 1980

Year	First visits 0-1 year olds	% Total visits
1975	3 044	4.9
1976	3 647	5.8
1977	4 064	5.8
1978	4 333	6.1
1980	5 194	6.4

Source: Ishaq and Smith, 1984: 74.

Table 2.14
Secondary level enrolment ratios, 1987-1988

Age group 15-17 years	Grades 10-12 (per cent)	(per cent)
	Net	Gross
Gaza Strip	37.6	47.0
West Bank	23.5	29.3

Source: UNESCO, March 1990: 15.

Table 2.15
Pre-school enrolment, 1987-1988

	Enrolment	Schools	Classes	Teachers
Gaza	6 773	54	176	176
West Bank	22 645	159	777	868
Total	29 418	213	953	1 044

Source: UNESCO, March 1990: 16.

Table 3.1

Purchaser of basic daily needs for family, 1989/1990

	No answer		The Husband		The Wife		One of Children		Anyone		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:												
Aboud	8	4.4	95	52.2	23	12.6	9	4.9	47	25.8	182	100.0
Bir Zeit	5	1.2	160	37.6	97	22.8	71	16.7	93	21.8	426	100.0
Ein Arik	1	.8	56	43.8	14	10.9	9	7.0	48	37.5	128	100.0
Husan	3	4.2	20	27.8	23	31.9	4	5.6	22	30.6	72	100.0
Jifna	2	1.5	46	35.4	38	29.2	14	10.8	30	23.1	130	100.0
Taybeh	9	3.4	66	24.6	71	26.5	26	9.7	96	35.8	268	100.0
Zababdeh	10	2.5	115	28.6	84	20.9	32	8.0	161	40.0	402	100.0
City:												
Bethlehem	42	8.4	165	32.9	131	26.1	42	8.4	121	24.2	501	100.0
Camp:												
Dehesheh	6	4.8	35	28.0	43	34.4	10	8.0	31	24.8	125	100.0
Partial population (city):												
Gaza	4	1.0	215	55.4	43	11.1	48	12.4	78	20.1	388	100.0
Jenin	0	.0	39	57.4	17	25.0	7	10.3	5	7.4	68	100.0
Jericho	5	5.4	43	46.7	16	17.4	15	16.3	13	14.1	92	100.0
Nablus	2	1.2	77	46.4	22	13.3	20	12.0	45	27.1	166	100.0

Source: Compiled from (Bethlehem University, 1989) and (Salman et. al., 1990).
Freq. = frequency

Table 3.2

Decision-maker for buying major household equipment, 1989/1990

	No answer		The husband		The wife		Both husband and wife		Husband wife and children		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:												
Aboud	11	6.0	55	30.2	19	10.4	54	29.7	43	23.6	182	100.0
Bir Zeit	11	2.6	59	13.8	41	9.6	160	37.6	155	36.4	426	100.0
Ein Arik	2	1.6	30	23.4	8	6.3	50	39.1	38	29.7	128	100.0
Husan	2	2.8	32	44.4	12	16.7	16	22.2	10	13.9	72	100.0
Jifna	9	6.9	16	12.3	18	13.8	53	40.8	34	26.2	130	100.0
Taybeh	14	5.2	26	9.7	34	12.7	73	27.2	121	45.1	268	100.0
Zababdeh	14	3.5	68	16.9	40	10.0	136	33.8	144	35.8	402	100.0
City:												
Bethlehem	49	9.8	123	24.6	65	13.0	126	25.1	138	27.5	501	100.0
Camp:												
Dehesheh	6	4.8	24	19.2	11	8.8	56	44.8	28	22.4	125	100.0
Partial population (city):												
Gaza	8	2.1	56	14.4	44	11.3	183	47.2	97	25.0	388	100.0
Jenin	0	.0	8	11.8	8	11.8	41	60.3	11	16.2	68	100.0
Jericho	6	6.5	10	10.9	16	17.4	43	46.7	17	18.5	92	100.0
Nablus	2	1.2	21	12.7	20	12.0	55	33.1	68	41.0	166	100.0

Source: Compiled from (Bethlehem University, 1989) and (Salman et. al., 1990).

Table 3.3

Method of choosing wife, 1989/1990

	No answer		Parents' choice		Parents' and son's choice		Son's choice/ parents' approval		Son's Choice/ No Parent		Other ways		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:														
Aboud	1	.6	15	8.7	40	23.3	107	62.2	1	.6	8	4.7	172	100.0
Bir Zeit	13	3.1	12	2.8	59	14.0	335	79.4	1	.2	2	.5	422	100.0
Ein Arik	2	1.6	26	20.3	36	28.1	46	35.9	10	7.8	8	6.3	128	100.0
Husan	3	3.8	1	1.3	22	27.5	50	62.5	1	1.3	3	3.8	80	100.0
Jifna	21	16.2	7	5.4	20	15.4	78	60.0	2	1.5	2	1.5	130	100.0
Taybeh	2	.8	7	2.8	18	7.2	202	81.1	7	2.8	13	5.2	249	100.0
Zababdeh	14	3.5	15	3.8	49	12.3	309	77.4	7	1.8	5	1.3	399	100.0
City:														
Bethlehem	24	5.2	49	10.6	100	21.6	261	56.3	23	5.0	7	1.5	464	100.0
Camp:														
Dehesheh	3	2.3	13	9.9	41	31.3	63	48.1	7	5.3	4	3.1	131	100.0
Partial population (city):														
Gaza	20	5.4	20	5.4	92	24.7	223	59.9	10	2.7	7	1.9	372	100.0
Jenin	1	1.5	1	1.5	3	4.4	63	92.6	0	.0	0	.0	68	100.0
Jericho	12	13.3	7	7.8	5	5.6	66	73.3	0	.0	0	.0	90	100.0
Nablus	14	8.9	1	.6	2	1.3	137	87.3	0	.0	3	1.9	157	100.0

Source: Compiled from (Bethlehem University, 1989) and (Salman et. al., 1990).

Table 3.4

Relation of wife to husband prior to marriage, 1989/1990

	No answer		First cousin		Second cousin		Cousin mother's side		Family/ Hamula		Other than family		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:														
Aboud	1	.6	17	9.9	13	7.6	21	12.2	48	27.9	72	41.9	172	100.0
Bir Zeit	10	2.4	32	7.6	31	7.3	36	8.5	72	17.1	241	57.1	422	100.0
Ein Arik	3	2.4	7	5.5	13	10.2	11	8.6	40	31.3	54	42.2	128	100.0
Husan	2	2.5	14	17.5	8	10.0	5	6.3	18	22.5	33	41.3	80	100.0
Jifna	20	15.4	9	6.9	10	7.7	7	5.4	19	14.6	65	50.0	130	100.0
Taybeh	2	.8	17	6.8	18	7.2	31	12.4	61	24.5	120	48.2	249	100.0
Zababdeh	12	3.0	44	11.0	49	12.3	40	10.0	50	12.5	204	51.1	399	100.0
City:														
Bethlehem	8	1.7	54	11.6	44	9.5	67	14.4	61	13.1	230	49.6	464	100.0
Camp:														
Dehesheh	2	1.5	17	13.0	16	12.2	10	7.6	16	12.2	70	53.4	131	100.0
Partial population (city):														
Gaza	24	6.5	19	5.1	22	5.9	31	8.3	40	10.8	236	63.4	372	100.0
Jenin	0	.0	3	4.4	11	16.2	6	8.8	3	4.4	45	66.2	68	100.0
Jericho	11	12.2	4	4.4	5	5.6	7	7.8	6	6.7	57	63.3	90	100.0
Nablus	14	8.9	12	7.6	7	4.5	16	10.2	14	8.9	94	59.9	157	100.0

Source: Compiled from (Bethlehem University, 1989) and (Salman et. al., 1990).

Table 3.5

Age of husband and wife at time of marriage, 1989/1990

	Age of husband at marriage	Age of wife at marriage	Age gap between husband and wife
Total population	Mean	Mean	Age gap
Village:			
Aboud	26.907	19.884	7.023
Bir Zeit	26.462	19.498	6.964
Ein Arik	23.937	20.898	3.039
Husan	21.763	17.075	4.688
Jifna	26.536	21.855	4.681
Taybeh	27.767	20.610	7.157
Zababdeh	24.920	20.341	4.579
City:			
Bethlehem	24.832	18.522	6.310
Camp:			
Dehesheh	26.053	19.344	6.709
Partial population (city):			
Gaza	28.374	20.626	7.748
Jenin	24.103	20.250	3.853
Jericho	26.889	19.956	6.933
Nablus	26.248	18.962	7.286

Source: Compiled from data (Bethelem University, 1989 and Salman et.al., 1990).

Table 3.6

Number of children born alive or born dead, 1989/1990

	Children Born Alive	Children Born Dead	Children 0-1 yrs. Died	Children 2-6 yrs. Died
Total population	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
Village:				
Aboud	4.721	.698	.407	.244
Bir Zeit	4.782	.592	.382	.095
Ein Arik	5.127	.500	.602	.168
Husan	5.000	.625	.413	.138
Jifna	4.557	1.818	1.500	1.500
Taybeh	4.470	.265	.273	.104
Zababdeh	4.762	.845	.511	.213
City:				
Bethlehem	4.188	.552	.356	.091
Camp:				
Dehesheh	4.947	.962	.664	.237
Partial population (city):				
Gaza	3.427	.261	.180	.083
Jenin	5.197	.611	.426	.269
Jericho	2.822	.278	.144	.189
Nablus	3.592	.369	.261	.153

Source: Compiled from data (Bethelem University, 1989 and Salman et.al., 1990).

Table 3.7

Medical care for mothers prior to delivery, 1989/1990

	No answer		Monthly		Once/twice in pregnancy		No medical care		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:										
Aboud	0	.0	51	32.3	59	37.3	48	30.4	158	100.0
Bir Zeit	23	5.7	223	54.9	58	14.3	102	25.1	406	100.0
Ein Arik	11	8.9	43	35.0	19	15.4	50	40.7	123	100.0
Husan	2	3.1	47	72.3	14	21.5	2	3.1	65	100.0
Jifna	32	24.6	60	46.2	23	17.7	15	11.5	130	100.0
Taybeh	2	.8	115	48.7	41	17.4	78	33.1	236	100.0
Zababdeh	37	9.4	129	32.7	125	31.7	103	26.1	394	100.0
City:										
Bethlehem	7	1.7	236	58.3	80	19.8	82	20.2	405	100.0
Camp:										
Dehesheh	3	2.4	101	80.2	11	8.7	11	8.7	126	100.0
Partial population (city):										
Gaza	25	7.4	175	52.1	71	21.1	65	19.3	336	100.0
Jenin	3	4.5	31	47.0	24	36.4	8	12.1	66	100.0
Jericho	22	24.4	48	53.3	7	7.8	13	14.4	90	100.0
Nablus	18	12.4	82	56.6	22	15.2	23	15.9	145	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et al., 1990).

Table 3.8

Medical care for mothers after delivery, 1989/1990

	No answer		Yes		No		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:								
Aboud	0	.0	19	12.0	139	88.0	158	100.0
Bir Zeit	25	6.2	100	24.6	281	69.2	406	100.0
Ein Arik	11	8.9	5	4.1	107	87.0	123	100.0
Husan	2	3.1	22	33.8	41	63.1	65	100.0
Jifna	32	24.6	29	22.3	69	53.1	130	100.0
Taybeh	3	1.3	37	15.7	196	83.1	236	100.0
Zababdeh	38	9.6	79	20.1	277	70.3	394	100.0
City:								
Bethlehem	6	1.5	132	32.6	267	65.9	405	100.0
Camp:								
Dehesheh	3	2.4	62	49.2	61	48.4	126	100.0
Partial population (city):								
Gaza	26	7.7	58	17.3	252	75.0	336	100.0
Jenin	3	4.5	23	34.8	40	60.6	66	100.0
Jericho	22	24.4	29	32.2	39	43.3	90	100.0
Nablus	18	12.4	75	51.7	52	35.9	145	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et al., 1990).

Table 3.9

Self-reliance in agriculture, December 1987 to April 1989

	1987	1989
Cattle production	14,000 head	27,000 head
Locally produced eggs	60 per cent	75 per cent
Area cultivated	1 million dunums	1.3 million dunums
Import of Israeli milk	65 per cent	20 per cent
Animal feed	95 per cent	40 per cent

Source: Nassar and Heacock, 1990: 312-313.

Table 3.10

Wives who work, 1989/1990

	No answer		Yes		No		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:								
Aboud	33	18.5	9	5.1	136	76.4	178	100.0
Bir Zeit	127	30.0	40	9.4	257	60.6	424	100.0
Ein Arik	21	16.1	4	3.1	105	80.8	130	100.0
Husan	5	6.4	1	1.3	72	92.3	78	100.0
Jifna	51	39.2	12	9.2	67	51.5	130	100.0
Taybeh	81	30.1	12	4.5	176	65.4	269	100.0
Zababdeh	59	14.7	48	12.0	294	73.3	401	100.0
City:								
Bethlehem	92	21.0	41	9.4	305	69.6	438	100.0
Camp:								
Dehesheh	5	4.1	9	7.4	108	88.5	122	100.0
Partial population (city):								
Gaza	90	23.1	84	21.5	216	55.4	390	100.0
Jenin	17	19.5	9	10.3	61	70.1	87	100.0
Jericho	34	37.4	11	12.1	46	50.5	91	100.0
Nablus	65	39.4	13	7.9	87	52.7	165	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et al., 1990).

Table 3.11

Main reason for wife's unemployment, 1989/1990

	No answer		Wife deceased		No financial need		Religious and social reasons		Look after children	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:										
Aboud	42	23.6	1	.6	2	1.1	2	1.1	117	65.7
Bir Zeit	169	39.9	4	.9	19	4.5	2	.5	203	47.9
Ein Arik	29	22.3	6	4.6	1	.8	58	44.6	26	20.0
Husan	5	6.4	2	2.6	1	1.3	18	23.1	43	55.1
Jifna	64	49.2	0	0	7	5.4	0	0	43	33.1
Taybeh	91	33.8	1	.4	11	4.1	0	0	139	51.7
Zababdeh	103	25.7	3	.7	22	5.5	2	.5	214	53.4
City:										
Bethlehem	128	29.2	5	1.1	27	6.2	60	13.7	178	40.6
Camp:										
Dehesheh	20	16.4	3	2.5	1	.8	29	23.8	39	32.0
Partial population (city):										
Gaza	171	43.8	9	2.3	53	13.6	5	1.3	73	18.7
Jenin	24	27.6	1	1.1	5	5.7	0	0	53	60.9
Jericho	45	49.5	0	0	2	2.2	0	0	25	27.5
Nablus	79	47.9	0	0	1	.6	11	6.7	61	37.0

Table 3.11 (continued)

	No training chances		No work chances		No good		Health reasons		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:										
Aboud	1	.6	5	2.8	4	2.2	4	2.2	178	100.0
Bir Zeit	9	2.1	6	1.4	1	.2	11	2.6	424	100.0
Ein Arik	3	2.3	0	0	1	.8	6	4.6	130	100.0
Husan	4	5.1	2	2.6	0	0	3	3.8	78	100.0
Jifna	6	4.6	2	1.5	2	1.5	6	4.6	130	100.0
Taybeh	2	.7	5	1.9	6	2.2	14	5.2	269	100.0
Zababdeh	24	6.0	9	2.2	5	1.2	19	4.7	401	100.0
City:										
Bethlehem	17	3.9	5	1.1	5	1.1	13	3.0	438	100.0
Camp:										
Dehesheh	13	10.7	4	3.3	7	5.7	6	4.9	122	100.0
Partial population (city):										
Gaza	21	5.4	33	8.5	16	4.1	9	2.3	390	100.0
Jenin	1	1.1	1	1.1	1	1.1	1	1.1	87	100.0
Jericho	1	1.1	9	9.9	5	5.5	4	4.4	91	100.0
Nablus	0	0	3	1.8	3	1.8	7	4.2	165	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et al., 1990).

Table 3.12

Children who go to kindergarten/nursery, 1989/1990

	No answer		Yes		No		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:								
Aboud	41	25.9	77	48.7	40	25.3	158	100.0
Bir Zeit	29	7.1	126	31.0	251	61.8	406	100.0
Ein Arik	12	9.7	39	31.7	72	58.5	123	100.0
Husan	2	3.1	19	29.2	44	67.7	65	100.0
Jifna	36	27.7	79	60.8	15	11.5	130	100.0
Tayabeh	6	2.5	50	21.2	180	76.3	236	100.0
Zababdeh	188	47.7	136	34.5	70	17.8	394	100.0
City: Bethlehem	26	6.4	189	46.7	190	46.9	405	100.0
Camp: Dehesheh	14	11.1	64	50.8	48	38.1	126	100.0
Partial population (city):								
Gaza	39	11.6	235	69.9	62	18.5	336	100.0
Jenin	12	18.1	32	48.5	22	33.3	66	100.0
Jericho	49	54.4	5	5.6	36	40.0	90	100.0
Nablus	20	13.8	113	77.9	12	8.3	145	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et al., 1990).

Table 3.13

Institutional affiliation of the kindergarten, 1989/1990

	Do not send to nursery		Private nursery		Governmental institution		Charitable institution		Other		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:												
Aboud	78	49.4	8	5.1	1	.6	70	44.3	1	.6	158	100.0
Bir Zeit	280	69.0	80	19.7	10	2.5	34	8.4	2	.5	406	100.0
Ein Arik	84	68.2	36	29.3	0	.0	3	2.4	0	.0	123	100.0
Husan	46	70.8	7	10.8	1	1.5	11	16.9	0	.0	65	100.0
Jifna	50	38.5	75	57.7	0	.0	3	2.3	2	1.5	130	100.0
Taybeh	185	78.4	7	3.0	1	.4	40	16.9	3	1.3	236	100.0
Zabaddeh	256	65.0	111	28.2	4	1.0	23	5.8	0	.0	394	100.0
City:												
Bethlehem	203	50.1	77	19.0	16	4.0	104	25.7	5	1.2	405	100.0
Camp:												
Dehesheh	54	42.9	16	12.7	5	4.0	37	29.4	14	11.1	126	100.0
Partial population (city):												
Gaza	98	29.2	85	25.3	6	1.8	147	43.8	0	.0	336	100.0
Jenin	33	50.0	21	31.8	5	7.6	7	10.6	0	.0	66	100.0
Jericho	84	93.3	4	4.4	0	.0	2	2.2	0	.0	90	100.0
Nablus	32	22.1	109	75.2	0	.0	3	2.1	1	.7	145	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et al., 1990).

Table 3.14

Reasons for sending children to kindergarten, 1989/1990

	Do not send to nursery		Mother working		Develop character		Learn skills		No social life with other children				Other		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:																
Aboud	78	49.4	1	.6	3	1.9	73	46.2	0	.0	2	1.3	1	.6	158	100.0
Bir Zeit	280	69.0	13	3.2	49	12.1	46	11.3	1	1.2	12	3.0	5	1.2	406	100.0
Ein Arik	84	68.2	2	1.6	14	11.4	23	18.7	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	123	100.0
Husan	45	69.2	1	1.5	0	.0	19	29.2	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	65	100.0
Jifna	51	39.2	1	.8	9	6.9	69	53.1	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	130	100.0
Taybeh	185	78.4	2	.8	22	9.3	19	8.1	0	.0	7	3.0	1	.4	236	100.0
Zabaddeh	257	65.2	3	.8	49	12.4	75	19.0	0	.0	10	2.5	0	.0	394	100.0
City:																
Bethlehem	211	52.1	12	3.0	65	16.0	80	19.8	7	1.7	22	5.4	8	2.0	405	100.0
Camp:																
Dehesheh	58	46.1	2	1.6	28	22.2	31	24.6	4	3.2	2	1.6	1	.8	126	100.0
Partial population (city):																
Gaza	97	28.9	25	7.4	75	22.3	126	37.5	0	.0	12	3.6	1	.3	336	100.0
Jenin	34	51.5	1	1.5	24	36.4	6	9.1	0	.0	1	1.5	0	.0	66	100.0
Jericho	84	93.3	1	1.1	3	3.3	2	2.2	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	90	100.0
Nablus	33	22.8	4	2.8	7	4.8	101	69.7	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	145	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et al., 1990).

Table 3.15

Ownership of a refrigerator, 1989/1990

	No answer		Yes		No		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:								
Aboud	4	2.2	160	87.0	20	10.9	184	100.0
Bir Zeit	3	.7	406	95.3	17	4.0	426	100.0
Ein Arik	0	.0	113	88.3	15	11.7	128	100.0
Husan	2	2.4	66	80.5	14	17.1	82	100.0
Jifna	2	1.5	122	93.1	7	5.3	131	100.0
Tayabeh	3	1.1	260	95.9	8	3.0	271	100.0
Zababdeh	6	1.5	338	83.3	62	15.3	406	100.0
City: Bethlehem	19	4.0	431	89.6	31	6.4	481	100.0
Camp: Dehesheh	1	.7	113	79.0	29	20.3	143	100.0
Partial population (city):								
Gaza	0	.0	377	96.4	14	3.6	391	100.0
Jenin	1	1.5	59	86.8	8	11.8	68	100.0
Jericho	0	.0	90	98.9	1	1.1	91	100.0
Nablus	2	1.2	162	97.6	2	1.2	166	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et al., 1990).

Table 3.16

Ownership of a separate freezer, 1989/1990

	No answer		Yes		No		Total	
Total population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:								
Aboud	3	1.6	3	1.6	178	96.7	184	100.0
Bir Zeit	4	.9	8	1.9	414	97.2	426	100.0
Ein Arik	1	.8	2	1.6	125	97.7	128	100.0
Husan	2	2.4	1	1.2	79	96.3	82	100.0
Jifna	2	1.5	6	4.6	123	93.9	131	100.0
Tayabeh	4	1.5	8	3.0	259	95.6	271	100.0
Zababdeh	7	1.7	4	1.0	395	97.3	406	100.0
City: Bethlehem	18	3.7	49	10.2	414	86.1	481	100.0
Camp: Dehesheh	1	.7	4	2.8	138	96.5	143	100.0
Partial population (city):								
Gaza	0	.0	27	6.9	364	93.1	391	100.0
Jenin	1	1.5	1	1.5	66	97.1	68	100.0
Jericho	1	1.1	6	6.6	84	92.3	91	100.0
Nablus	2	1.2	27	16.3	137	82.5	166	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et al., 1990).

Table 3.17

Ownership of a washing machine, 1989/1990

	No Answer		Yes		No		Total	
Total Population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:								
Aboud	6	3.3	89	48.4	89	48.4	184	100.0
Bir Zeit	4	.9	304	71.4	118	27.7	426	100.0
Ein Arik	0	.0	23	18.0	105	82.0	128	100.0
Husan	2	2.4	19	23.2	61	74.4	82	100.0
Jifna	2	1.5	96	73.3	33	25.2	131	100.0
Taybeh	3	1.1	194	71.6	74	27.3	271	100.0
Zababdeh	6	1.5	261	64.3	139	34.2	406	100.0
City:								
Bethlehem	20	4.2	320	66.5	141	29.3	481	100.0
Camp:								
Dehesheh	1	.7	64	44.8	78	54.5	143	100.0
Partial population (city):								
Gaza	0	.0	336	85.9	55	14.1	391	100.0
Jenin	1	1.5	47	69.1	20	29.4	68	100.0
Jericho	0	.0	71	78.0	20	22.0	91	100.0
Nablus	2	1.2	143	86.1	21	12.7	166	100.0

Source: Compiled from (Bethlehem University, 1989) and (Salman et.al., 1990).

Table 3.18

Ownership of a dishwasher, 1989/1990

	No Answer		Yes		No		Total	
Total Population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:								
Aboud	3	1.6	1	.5	180	97.8	184	100.0
Bir Zeit	3	.7	7	1.6	416	97.7	426	100.0
Ein Arik	0	.0	0	.0	128	100.0	128	100.0
Husan	2	2.4	0	.0	80	97.6	82	100.0
Jifna	2	1.5	0	.0	129	98.5	131	100.0
Taybeh	3	1.1	4	1.5	264	97.4	271	100.0
Zababdeh	6	1.5	2	.5	398	98.0	406	100.0
City:								
Bethlehem	19	4.0	33	6.9	429	89.2	481	100.0
Camp:								
Dehesheh	1	.7	2	1.4	140	97.9	143	100.0
Partial population (city):								
Gaza	0	.0	14	3.6	377	96.4	391	100.0
Jenin	1	1.5	3	4.4	64	94.1	68	100.0
Jericho	0	.0	1	1.1	90	98.9	91	100.0
Nablus	3	1.8	11	6.6	152	91.6	166	100.0

Source: Compiled from (Bethlehem University, 1989) and (Salman et.al., 1990).

Table 3.19

Ownership of a food processor, 1989/1990

	No answer		Yes		No		Total	
Total Population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:								
Aboud	3	1.6	23	12.5	158	85.9	184	100.0
Bir Zeit	3	.7	150	35.2	273	64.1	426	100.0
Ein Arik	0	.0	24	18.8	104	81.3	128	100.0
Husan	2	2.4	1	1.2	79	96.3	82	100.0
Jifna	2	1.5	52	39.7	77	58.8	131	100.0
Taybeh	3	1.1	122	45.0	146	53.9	271	100.0
Zababdeh	6	1.5	52	12.8	348	85.7	406	100.0
City:								
Bethlehem	19	4.0	171	35.6	291	60.5	481	100.0
Camp:								
Dehesheh	1	.7	9	6.3	133	93.0	143	100.0
Partial population (city):								
Gaza	1	.3	283	72.4	107	27.4	391	100.0
Jenin	1	1.5	16	23.5	51	75.0	68	100.0
Jericho	0	.0	41	45.1	50	54.9	91	100.0
Nablus	2	1.2	102	61.4	62	37.7	166	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et.al., 1990).

Table 3.20

Telephone subscriber, 1989/1990

	No answer		Yes		No		Total	
Total Population	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Village:								
Aboud	3	1.6	0	.0	181	98.4	184	100.0
Bir Zeit	3	.7	43	10.1	380	89.2	426	100.0
Ein Arik	0	.0	0	.0	128	100.0	128	100.0
Husan	2	2.4	5	6.1	75	91.5	82	100.0
Jifna	2	1.5	24	18.3	105	80.2	131	100.0
Taybeh	3	1.1	23	8.5	245	90.4	271	100.0
Zababdeh	6	1.5	9	2.2	391	96.3	406	100.0
City:								
Bethlehem	19	4.0	160	33.3	302	62.8	481	100.0
Camp:								
Dehesheh	1	.7	6	4.2	136	95.1	143	100.0
Partial population (city):								
Gaza	2	.5	259	66.2	130	33.2	391	100.0
Jenin	1	1.5	17	25.0	50	73.5	68	100.0
Jericho	0	.0	63	69.2	28	30.8	91	100.0
Nablus	2	1.2	100	60.2	64	38.6	166	100.0

Source: Compiled from data (Bethlehem University, 1989 and Salman et.al., 1990).

Table 3.21

Distribution by sex of heads of Palestinian families, inside and outside the occupied territory, 1988

Sex	West Bank	Gaza Strip	Jordan	Lebanon	Syria
Males	56 250	78 968	98 178	51 927	43 395
Females	32 467	17 220	22 409	14 606	12 771
Total	88 717	96 188	120 587	66 533	56 166
Percentages of female heads of families	36.6	17.9	18.6	21.95	22.74

Source: United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 1989: 6.

Table 3.22

Distribution of applicants to the Faculty of Business, Bethlehem University, by sex, 1990

Sex:	Frequency	per cent
Female	107	33.44
Male	213	66.56
Total	320	100.00

Table 3.23

Distribution of applicants to the Faculty of Business, Bethlehem University, by sex and secondary school certificate, 1990

Observed Frequencies

Track:	Female	Male	Total
Scientific	45	81	126
Literary	62	132	194
Total	107	213	320

Observed Percentages

Track:	Female	Male	Total
Scientific	14.06	25.31	39.38
Literary	19.38	41.25	60.63
Total	33.44	66.56	100.00

Source: Salman, 1990a

Table 3.24

Distribution of applicants to the Faculty of Business, Bethlehem University, by first choice of area of study and by sex, 1990

	Observed frequencies		
First Choice:	Female	Male	Total
Business Administration	45	108	153
Science Faculty	23	29	52
Arts Faculty	33	49	82
Nursing Faculty	5	27	32
Hotel Management	0	0	0
Education Faculty	1	0	1
Total	107	213	320
	Observed percentages		
First Choice:	Female	Male	Total
Business Administration	14.06	33.75	47.81
Science Faculty	7.19	9.06	16.25
Arts Faculty	10.31	15.31	25.63
Nursing Faculty	1.56	8.44	10.00
Hotel Management	.00	.00	.00
Education Faculty	.31	.00	.31
Total	33.44	66.56	100.00

Source: Salman, 1990a

Table 3.25

Distribution of applicants to the Faculty of Business, Bethlehem University, by second choice of area of study and by sex, 1990

Observed frequencies

Second Choice:	Female	Male	Total
Business Administration	64	123	187
Science Faculty	8	19	27
Arts Faculty	22	32	54
Nursing Faculty	1	5	6
Hotel Management	10	34	44
Education Faculty	2	0	2
Total	107	213	320

Observed percentages

Second Choice:	Female	Male	Total
Business Administration	20.00	38.44	58.44
Science Faculty	2.50	5.94	8.44
Arts Faculty	6.88	10.00	16.88
Nursing Faculty	.31	1.56	1.88
Hotel Management	3.13	10.63	13.75
Education Faculty	.63	.00	.63
Total	33.44	66.56	100.00

Source: Salman, 1990a

Table 3.26

Distribution of graduates with Bachelor in Business Administration from Bethlehem University, by sex, 1977-1990

Year	Female	Male	Total
1977	4	2	6
1978	4	14	18
1979	1	7	8
1980	1	8	9
1981	9	20	29
1982	1	13	14
1983	4	19	23
1984	6	14	20
1985	9	22	31
1986	6	36	42
1987	9	28	37
1990	3	17	20
TOTAL	57	200	257
Percentage	22%	78%	100%

Source: Salman, 1990 b.

Table 3.27

Distribution of graduates with Associate Degrees in Business Administration from Bethlehem University, by sex, 1982-1990

Year	Female	Male	Total
1982	2	5	7
1983	5	13	18
1984	5	18	23
1985	6	10	16
1986	2	5	7
1987	1	6	7
1990	1	1	2
TOTAL	22	58	80
Percentage	27.5%	72.5%	100%

Source: Salman, 1990 b.

Table 3.28

Bethlehem University: number of female students working, 1990

	Frequency	Per cent
Working	10	21.74
Not working	36	78.26
Total	46	100.00
Student's work related to her studies:		
	Frequency	Per cent
Related	5	50.0
Not related	5	50.0
Total	10	100.0
Type of work:		
	Frequency	Per cent
Teacher	3	30.0
Printing press	1	10.0
Accountant	1	10.0
Secretary	4	40.0
Nurse	1	10.0
Total	10	100.0
Part-time or full time:		
	Frequency	Per cent
Part-time	1	10.0
Full time	9	90.0
Total	10	100.0
Length of time in present job:		
	Frequency	Per cent
Two months	2	20.0
Four months	1	10.0
One year	3	30.0
Two years	3	30.0
Two and a half years	1	10.0
Total	10	100.0

Source: Salman, 1990 c.

Table 3.29

Bethlehem University women students: place of residence, 1990

	Frequency	Per cent
Bethlehem	7	17.5
Beit Jala	9	22.5
Beit Sahour	4	10.0
Jerusalem	8	20.0
Shoufat	1	2.5
Hebron	1	2.5
Wallajeh	2	5.0
Dura	1	2.5
Battir	1	2.5
Ramallah	1	2.5
Zababdeh	1	2.5
Gaza	2	5.0
Village - no name given	1	2.5
City - no name given	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Salman, 1990 d.

Table 3.30

Bethlehem University women students: father's occupation, 1990

	Frequency	Per cent
Unemployed	8	20.0
Employee	3	7.5
Farmer	1	2.5
Merchant	3	7.5
Labourer	6	15.0
Blacksmith	1	2.5
Teacher	5	12.5
Accountant	2	5.0
Carpenter	2	5.0
Agricultural Engineer	1	2.5
Contractor	1	2.5
Engineer	1	2.5
Electrician	1	2.5
Businessman	2	5.0
Mechanic	1	2.5
Reporter	1	2.5
Goldsmith	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Salman, 1990 d.

Table 3.31

Bethlehem University women students: mother's occupation if working, 1990

	Frequency	Per cent
Not working	21	52.5
Housewife	7	17.5
Merchant	1	2.5
Teacher	7	17.5
Shop saleswoman	1	2.5
Dressmaker	2	5.0
Headmistress	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Salman, 1990 d.

Table 3.32

Bethlehem University women students: family members studying business or economics, 1990

Relation	Frequency	Per cent
No family member	26	65.0
Brother	3	7.5
Sister	1	2.5
Uncle	1	2.5
Cousin (male)	2	5.0
Cousin (female)	1	2.5
Brother and sister	1	2.5
Uncle and male cousin	1	2.5
Cousins (male and female)	2	5.0
Brother, male cousin, second cousin	1	2.5
Third cousin (male)	1	2.5
Total	40	100.0

Source: Salman, 1990 d.

Table 3.33

Bethlehem University women students: family reaction if a female member reached a position in business, 1990

	Frequency	Per cent
Supportive	38	95.0
Indifferent	2	5.0
Try to prevent her	0	0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Salman, 1990 d.

Table 3.34

Bethlehem University women students: ability of Palestinian women to establish businesses of their own, 1990

	Frequency	Per cent
Many	11	27.5
Some	29	72.5
None	0	0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Salman, 1990 d.

Table 3.35

Bethlehem University women students: Palestinian women who have established a business, 1990

	Frequency	Per cent
Yes	10	25.0
No	30	75.0
Total	40	100.0

Source: Salman, 1990 d.

REFERENCES

Abdul Jawwad, I. 1990. "The evolution of the political role of the Palestinian women's movement in the uprising". In Hudson, M.C. (ed.): The Palestinians: New Directions. Washington, D.C.: Centre for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University.

Ashrawi, H. 1990. "The politics of cultural revival". In Hudson, M.C. (ed.): The Palestinians: New Directions. Washington, D.C.: Centre for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University.

Badran, N. 1969. Al-Ta'lim wa-al-Tahdith fi al-Mujtama' al-Arabi al-Filastini, (Education and modernization in Palestinian Arab society), Beirut: PLO Research Centre.

Barghouthi, M. and Giacaman, R. 1990. "The emergence of an infrastructure of resistance: the case of health". In Nassar, J.R. and Heacock, R. (eds): Intifada: Palestine at the Crossroads. New York: Praeger.

Benvenisti, M. and Abu-Zayed, Z. 1986. The West Bank Handbook. Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Post.

Benvenisti, M. 1987. The West Bank Data Base Project 1987 Report. Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Post.

Giacaman, R. Palestinian Women and Development. London: CAABU No. 5.

Giacaman, R. and Odeh, M. 1988. "Palestinian women's movement in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip". In Toubia, N. Ed: Women of the Arab World. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Giacaman, R. and Johnson, P. 1990. "Palestinian women: building barricades and breaking barriers". In Lockman, Z. and Beinin, J. (eds.): Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation. London: I.B. Tauris.

Haddad, Y. 1980. "Patterns of legitimation and domination". In Nakleh, K. and Zureik, E. (eds.): The Sociology of the Palestinians. London: Croom Helm.

Hawa-Tawil, R. 1983. My Home, My Prison. London: Zed Press.

Ishaq, J. and Smith, C. 1984. "Standards of health care in the West Bank: A critical review". Bethlehem University Journal. Vol. 3, August 1984.

Jad, I. 1990. "From salons to the popular committees: Palestinian women, 1919-1989". In Nassar, J.R. and Heacock, R. (eds.): Intifada: Palestine at the Crossroads. New York: Praeger.

Kazi, H. 1987. "Palestinian women and the national liberation movement: a social perspective". In Salman M., et al., (eds.): Women in the Middle East. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Ma'oz, M. 1984. Palestinian Leadership on the West Bank. London: Frank Cass.

Nakhleh, K. 1980. "Intellectuals and revolutionary transformation" in Nakleh, K. and Zureik, E. (eds.): The Sociology of the Palestinians. London: Croom Helm.

Labour Law of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. 1960.

Nassar, J.R. and Heacock, R. 1990. "The future in light of the past". In Nassar, J.R. and Heacock, R. (eds.): Intifada: Palestine at the Crossroads. New York: Praeger.

Rishmawi, M. 1988. "The legal status of Palestinian women in the occupied territories". In Toubia, N. Ed: Women of the Arab World. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Sadik, N. Investing in Women: The Focus of the '90s. NY: UNFPA.

Sayigh, R. 1988. "Palestinian women: triple burden, single struggle". Les femmes et la modernité. Peuples méditerranéens 44-45. juillet-decembre 1988.

Shultz, P. 1990. Women's Changing Participation in the Labour Force: A World Perspective. Yale University.

Smith, P.A. 1984. Palestine and the Palestinians 1976-1983. London: Croom Helm.

Sosebee, S.J. 1990. "The Palestinian women's movement". American Arab Affairs. Spring 1990, No. 32.

Tibawi, A. 1956. Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine. London.

United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. 25 January 1988. "The situation of Palestinian women living within and outside the occupied Arab territories" (E/CN.6/1988/8/Corr.1).

United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. 29 March 1989. "The situation of Palestinian women living within and outside the occupied Arab territories" (E/CN.6/1989/4/Corr.1).

United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 6 January 1993, "The situation of Palestinian women in the occupied territories" (E/CN.6/1993/10).

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. 1989. "Data base extracts on economic issues and related Israeli practices in the occupied Palestinian territory (West Bank and Gaza Strip)", July 1987-December 1988. (UNCTAD/RDP/SEU/3).

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. 1990. "Data base extracts on economic issues and related Israeli practices in the occupied Palestinian territory (West Bank and Gaza Strip)", January-December 1989. (UNCTAD/RDP/SEU/4).

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. January 1991. "Selected statistical series on the economy of the occupied Palestinian territory (West Bank and Gaza Strip), 1968-1988", (Preliminary version, unpublished).

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. 1990. Study on the Needs of the Palestinian People in the Field of Education and Training. Paris: UNESCO.

United Nations Fund for Population Activities, 1990, United Nations Fund for Population Activities, Investing in Women: The focus of the 1990s, New York.

United Nations General Assembly. 13 October 1989. Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the Year 2000: National Experience Relating to the Improvement of the Situation of Women in Rural Areas. (A/44/516).

Zureik, E. 1980. "Reflections on twentieth-century Palestinian class structure". In Nakleh, K. and Zureik, E. (eds.): The Sociology of the Palestinians. London: Croom Helm.

SURVEYS (Unpublished):

Bethlehem University, November 1989. "Socio-economic survey: Bethlehem, Dehesheh, Husan".

Salman, H., Sfeir, J. and Zoughbi, S. July 1990. "Socio-economic survey: Aboud, Bir Zeit, Ein Arik, Jifna, Taybeh, and Zababdeh - total population. Gaza, Jenin, Jericho, Nablus - partial population".

Salman, H. 1990a, "Applications of new students for the faculty of business administration at Bethlehem University".

Salman, H. 1990b, "Graduates from the Business Faculty, 1977-1990".

Salman, H. 1990c, "Female students in Business Faculty at Bethlehem University working after 3 years of closure".

Salman, H. 1990d, "Motivation of students to study Business Administration at Bethlehem University".

Note

1/ Data on Bethlehem, Husan and Dehesheh Camp have been taken from a socio-economic survey conducted by Bethlehem University in February and March 1989. Copies are on reserve in the Bethlehem University Library. Data for the total population of Aboud, Bir Zeit, Ein Arik, Jifna, Taybeh and Zababdeh, as well as for a portion of the population of Gaza, Jenin, Jericho, and Nablus were taken from a socio-economic survey conducted by Dr. Jacqueline Sfeir, Dr. Saleem Zoughbi, and the author, between December 1989 and June 1990. Copies are at the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem.